

Weekly Compilation of
**Presidential
Documents**



Monday, October 27, 1997
Volume 33—Number 43
Pages 1611–1656

Contents

Addresses and Remarks

America Reads initiative—1622
Argentina, Nahuel Huapi National Park in San Carlos de Bariloche—1620
Asia Society and the United States-China Education Foundation Board—1648
Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues—1624
Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee dinner—1626
National Board for Professional Teaching Standards honoring board-certified master teachers—1643
National Geographic Society—1629
Radio address—1618
Voluntary national testing for basic education skills—1622
White House Conference on Child Care—1634

Bill Signings

Second continuing resolution for fiscal year 1998, statement—1641

Communications to Congress

Narcotics Traffickers in Colombia, letter transmitting notice—1616

Executive Orders

Further Amendment to Executive Order 13038—Advisory Committee on Public Interest Obligations of Digital Television Broadcasters—1634

Interviews With the News Media

Interview with Argentine reporters in Buenos Aires, Argentina—1611

Notices

Continuation of Emergency With Respect to Significant Narcotics Traffickers Centered in Colombia—1616

Proclamations

National Character Counts Week—1617
National Forest Products Week—1617
United Nations Day—1642

Statements by the President

See also Bill Signings
Death of Ann Devroy—1641
Japan-U.S. trade agreement on access to Japanese ports—1615

Supplementary Materials

Acts approved by the President—1656
Checklist of White House press releases—1655
Digest of other White House announcements—1653
Nominations submitted to the Senate—1654

WEEKLY COMPILATION OF

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Published every Monday by the Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC 20408, the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* contains statements, messages, and other Presidential materials released by the White House during the preceding week.

The *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* is published pursuant to the authority contained in the Federal Register Act (49 Stat. 500, as amended; 44 U.S.C. Ch. 15), under

regulations prescribed by the Administrative Committee of the Federal Register, approved by the President (37 FR 23607; 1 CFR Part 10).

Distribution is made only by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402. The *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* will be furnished by mail to domestic subscribers for \$80.00 per year (\$137.00 for mailing first class) and to foreign subscribers for \$93.75 per year, payable to the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402. The charge for a single copy is \$3.00 (\$3.75 for foreign mailing).

There are no restrictions on the republication of material appearing in the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*.

Week Ending Friday, October 24, 1997

**Interview With Argentine Reporters
in Buenos Aires, Argentina**

October 17, 1997

MERCOSUR Trade and the World View

Q. I will begin with a question about one of the main aspects of your visit to Brazil and Argentina, which was the MERCOSUR question. During several months it appeared that there were controversial views in the U.S. concerning MERCOSUR. Since you strongly backed, both in Brazil and Argentina, MERCOSUR, the question is how you built up your conclusion or your position over the MERCOSUR, and did you consider, eventually, other approaches before taking a final decision, particularly in Brazil the other day?

The President. Well, I think that the impression developed—first of all, let's talk about how the impression developed.

Q. Yes.

The President. I think the impression developed because some people in the Government and in the press in America I think had the impression that MERCOSUR might be used as a vehicle to limit the growth of trade and investment with the United States in ways that would have adverse consequences for our long-term political, as well as our economic, cooperation. Now, let me say, at the end of the cold war there were Americans who felt that way about the European Union as well. When I became President, there was a group of people, good people, in our Government, permanent civil servants, who had the same feeling about the European Union.

But I have a very different view. I believe that the United States should do whatever it can to promote the political and economic cooperation of democracies, not simply to grow the economy but in a larger sense to lift the conditions of ordinary people and to strengthen democratic institutions so that they cannot be reversed, and finally, because

the threats we face today at the end of the cold war are much more likely to be threats that cross national borders, like terrorism, drugs, organized crime, as opposed to threats from other nations. So we all have to adjust our thinking.

What I'm trying to do is to promote a process of reorganization of the world so that human beings are organized in a way that takes advantage of the new opportunities of this era and permits them to beat back the problems. If you start with that presumption, instead of a political organization in South America that doesn't include us is a threat to us, then you come to a very different conclusion. My conclusion is that MERCOSUR has been good for the countries that are members of it because they've torn down barriers among each other. That helps them all economically. At the same time, our trade with all the MERCOSUR nations has increased.

And it permits other things. For example, Brazil and Argentina worked with us to stop the interruption of the democratic process in Paraguay. We now have the problems of potential terrorist activities in the tri-border—the countries are now better equipped to do that. So to me this is a positive thing.

Now, having said that, what I had hoped to do on this trip is to convince the leaders, not just the Presidents but the leadership, generally, that it is also in our interest to follow through on the commitment we made at the Summit of the Americas in Miami to work toward a free trade area of the Americas, and to see MERCOSUR, NAFTA, Andean Pact, CARICOM as building blocks in this. This is very important, because if the rest of the world should happen not to agree with us philosophically, then having a big trade area will be a great insurance policy for all these countries. And if we can prove that you can merge integrated economies and integrated democracies, then we'll be more likely to build a global system of this kind.

So that's a long answer, but anyway it's important that you understand that this MERCOSUR issue for me is part of a very big world view. I just never felt as threatened by it as a lot of people who saw it in terms of this particular negotiation over this tariff or this custom or that sort of thing.

Social Inequity

Q. Mr. President, in this era of free market in the region, the problem of social inequity is a great deal for our countries and also for the strength of our democracy. I would like to have your views about that.

The President. First of all, I think it's important to point out that this problem of social inequity is a problem that every country in the world is facing, even countries with very robust growth. No country has solved the problem perfectly of how to grow the economy and preserve more equality and at the same time move more poor people into the middle class.

Let me just give you a couple of examples. Look at France, which has a very strong social contract but pays for it with very high unemployment. Great Britain has opted for a policy more like ours, where they're generating lots of jobs now—their unemployment rate is 6.5 percent, only about a point and a half higher—

Q. Five-point-nine yesterday.

The President. —5.9 yesterday, so it's only a point higher than ours. And they're open to immigrants now, as the United States is. But as a result of that, because the modern economy favors technology and education, they've had increasing inequality there, just as we have.

I think it's important to point out that most of this is due to the structural changes in all advanced economies driven by technology. Trade is a part of it, but mostly it's the changing of the paradigm, if you will, away from the industrial society to the information age. And I believe the answer is to have the Government have less destructive involvement in the economy, but the Government should have more constructive involvement in the society.

Basically, you have to do, I think, three things. You have to, first of all, have a system of lifetime education and training so that ev-

erybody can participate. Secondly, you have to have a strategy to bring the benefits of free markets to the places that are untouched. Technology can help. Investment can help. I think that is very important. And thirdly, you have to have adequate protections for people who, through no fault of their own, are not participating. This is easy to say and difficult to do, because if it costs too much to do this you will weigh down the economy. But essentially that is what must be done.

So the challenge in Argentina, the challenge in Brazil, the challenge in Latin America is, in a different way, the challenge that we in America face—in the United States—and that the Europeans are trying to do—even the Japanese now are having to deal with it. So this is the new social challenge of the 21st century. The answer is not to withdraw from the trade or to pretend that the technology doesn't exist, the answer is to get all the benefits.

Argentina for example—I will make you a prediction here. If you can maintain these levels of growth that you have now, your unemployment will go down, but it will not go as low as you want unless you have real systems to create more small businesses, to hook small business into technology and exports, and to create much more universally effective education systems. But that's no criticism of the last 7 years; you had to fix all the problems of the past before you can confront the challenges of the present.

Integrity in Government

Q. Mr. President, to follow up what you just said, corruption makes inequality even worse. You said that the applying of the term "endemic corruption" to Brazil has been a mistake. What's the precise meaning of widespread corruption that had been implied in the same document to the Argentine situation?

The President. Well, first of all, I wasn't even familiar with this document. I didn't know it was issued. I don't know who wrote it.

But let me back up and say when you are in a period where the Government has had heavy-handed involvement in the economy and then things start to change and arrange-

ments are unsettled, that's a point where, in general, civil societies are vulnerable to corruption. Also, human nature being what it is, there will nearly always be someone somewhere who is doing something wrong.

So what you want, however, is a system where the incentives are to be honest; where there are disincentives—sanctions—for being dishonest; and where you're moving in the right direction. I told President Menem—we had a talk about this last night—I was complimenting President Caldera of Venezuela because he took the lead in making sure that our hemisphere—we have, basically, the only convention against corruption of any hemisphere in the world.

And I said to President Menem, and I said to the young people at the townhall meeting yesterday, what my experience is, just from my life in politics. And that is that if a civil society can maintain a vigorous, free press, an economy that works, and you can just preserve democracy, time takes care of a lot of this. That is, I believe that 20 years from now, an American President will be sitting here, and either you will be sitting here or your successors will be, and I will predict to you that if democracy survives in Argentina, which I believe it will, there will be less corruption, but you could still ask a question about corruption. Do you see what I mean? You could still ask.

So what my advice would be here, because this country has come so far so fast, moving away from some of its darkest moments not very long ago and also moving away from the heavy-handed control of the state over the economy, that the focus should be on maintaining a vigorous and safe free press, making sure that the economy operates according to internationally accepted norms, and preserving democracy.

I had a great talk not very long ago with Senator Dole, who was my opponent in the last election. We have quite an interesting and good relationship, I think, and he was in Congress for 35 years. So I said to him, "Bob"—the Washington press was full of something at the moment, I can't even remember what it was—I said, "Bob, is Washington more honest today, or less, than 30

years ago?" He said, "It's not close. They're much more honest."

Q. Much more honest?

The President. Much more. And the same thing is true everywhere. In other words, barring some unforeseeable development, it always gets better if you can keep the press free and vigilant and if you can keep the economy operating with some integrity. And just the passage of time strengthens the presumption of democracy and freedom and accountability. So it will get better here if that can happen—everywhere.

Education in Brazil and Venezuela

Q. Mr. President, in your trip here and in Brazil and Venezuela, was there anything that was striking or that surprised you, that changed your idea of these countries or what American policy should be towards them? I mean, what did you learn on this trip?

The President. Well, first of all, I would say that I feel that the potential for both growth and greatness in these societies is even greater than I had imagined. I think that the potential for America to have a constructive partnership and actually help deal with some of these challenges that countries face—and they're different in all three countries—is even greater than I had imagined, as long as it's clear that we are dealing in an atmosphere of mutual respect and equality.

And I think that the potential for solving at least some of the worst social problems is greater than I had imagined. That is, when I was in Brazil I went to a school in a very poor neighborhood in Rio, where the children came out of circumstances that were very difficult, and they were doing quite well. And it seems to me that one of the obligations that the United States has through our business community here is to do more throughout Latin America to give that kind of educational experience to children. If I could do one thing in sort of a crash way, it would be to try to revolutionize the quality and reach of education for all the children of the region.

Freedom of the Press in Argentina

Q. You spoke about the freedom of the press. You might be aware that in Argentina

there's a coexistence between freedom of the press and then serious threats and actions against the press.

The President. I'm very aware of that.

Q. For example, the assassination of Jose Luis Cabeza, a photojournalist. This morning the papers inform, quite, I hate to say, unprecisely about some initiative you probably told the government about supporting the press in an international, American, Pan American—

The President. Again, on this issue, I can't comment on the specifics of, because I don't know. I'm aware that the photographer was killed, and I know a lot of your reporters have been threatened and that the problem from your point of view must be the question of whether this can be stopped in specific cases.

But what I said to President Menem yesterday was that, again, this is something that—Argentina is building a civil society, and it has to be built brick by brick. And the fact that the press is free is a good thing. The fact that some people feel free to at least threaten and perhaps harm members of the press is a bad thing. So to get beyond that you have to build even more bricks in the house of civil society.

What I suggested was that the OSCE, the Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe, actually has a press ombudsman, which has become quite important because we have all these countries converting from communism to free societies—again, coming to grips with this from a different background, but it's the same sort of issue. And most of our people who deal with it think this has been quite a good thing. So I suggested that perhaps he and other leaders here might support an initiative to do the same thing within the OAS, so that we could help every country where this is an issue, through an ombudsman who could say, not only this particular case has to be dealt with, but here are institutional changes that could be made in this, that, or the other country, that would make it better. That was my precise suggestion.

Q. But that ombudsman, what kind of questions would it deal with?

The President. Well, it would deal with whatever questions the OAS was willing to refer to it. But I think the idea would be

to be able to take specific cases and build a system where those kinds of cases didn't come forward. Of course, the individual case would still have to be handled through the justice system, but the point is maybe a press ombudsman would say, "Look, here's the sort of judicial system every country in OAS should have," or, "Here's the kind of judicial training center we ought to have." That's another one of our proposals, battling around the OAS—to set up a common judicial training center so that every country could send their judges there, and we could have generally accepted systems which would help to build a civil society.

Attacks on Buenos Aires Jewish Community

Q. Mr. President, are you aware or were you requested any kind of classified information from the FBI or the CIA by the Jewish organization that interviewed you yesterday regarding the attack at the Embassy and the AMIA?

The President. Well, the press report on that was a little bit misleading today—I don't think on purpose. But let me explain what I said.

Q. That's why I was questioning.

The President. Yes, I'm glad you asked. What I said was that the judge with oversight on the case had already talked to both the FBI and the CIA. The families of the victims and their advocates believe that perhaps there are some people in our Government or some people who've been involved in this who have some information that has not been turned over. What I said was that I would go back to our sources, our people, and see if we could get any more information; I would do everything I could.

I think there was a little misunderstanding, perhaps in the translation, when I simply pointed out that when we operate in other countries we sometimes talk to people who deserve the right to be protected, and we have general rules that we follow—not in Argentina, everywhere in the world—to try to make sure that we never put anyone at risk who is helping us. But we're going to see if we have information we have not turned over that we can give to the appropriate authorities so we can go forward with this.

This would be a very good thing, not only for the families of the victims but for Argentina, if we could actually resolve the cases of the bombing of the Embassy and the community center.

Argentina-U.S. Relations

Q. Argentina and U.S. relations were not always like today. What really changed according to you, and when you first perceived that's a change was underway?

The President. Well, I think in the nearest term what has changed is that Argentina moved away from military governments that oppress and kill its people toward not only a democracy but a democracy under President Menem that has genuinely reached out to the rest of the world and tried to open not only the economy but the society. Even the debates you are having about the government here are evidence of that. So I think that's the first and most important thing.

Then I think the United States—I would hope that this is true; it's self-serving for me to say this, but I hope it's true—the United States—since I've been President, we have had a genuine interest in establishing a new kind of partnership with Latin America. President Roosevelt wanted to do it. He wanted to be a good neighbor, but the cold war intervened. He died. The cold war intervened. Things happened. President Kennedy wanted to do it. He wanted an Alliance for Progress. But there were difficulties which made it impossible to have a continuing effort. And then some of our Presidents just simply disagreed. They saw every development in Latin America as a manifestation of what was happening in the cold war between the United States and the Soviet Union.

I saw, as the first President who would govern completely at the end of the cold war, an opportunity essentially to go back to the vision of Bolivar. And we are becoming more alike, not only because of the globalization of our economy and the universality of our communications but because Spanish-speaking Americans are our fastest growing group and because we share now these values of democracy and peace and security.

So I think all these things have played a role. I hope that I have played a role. I was the first President, I believe, to appoint an

envoy to all of the Americas—Mack McLarty, my former Chief of Staff. I don't think any President has ever done anything like that before. So I have a person that is very close to me actually in the region all the time, knowing the leaders, knowing the people working with this.

But I think none of it would have been possible if first you hadn't had the changes in Argentina. Because if we are totally at odds with a country over its human rights policy, over its political policy, over whether it's open to the United States in a genuine partnership, then even our ability to lay down the mistakes we've made in the past as a country would not have made it possible. So the two things happened together.

NOTE: The interview began at 11:05 a.m. at the Sheraton Hotel. In his remarks, the President referred to President Carlos Menem of Argentina and President Rafael Caldera of Venezuela. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Statement on the Japan-United States Trade Agreement on Access to Japanese Ports

October 17, 1997

I am pleased that our negotiators have reached an agreement in principle that will open trade in Japan's ports and level the playing field for American shippers. We have long pressed Japan for a firm commitment to liberalize trade in its ports, and today they have done just that. Japan has agreed to provide an expedited licensing process for American ships entering its ports and to support an alternative to the port services provided by the Japanese Harbor Transportation Authority. Those provisions, after the details are worked out, will allow America's shippers to compete and win in the global marketplace. I want to congratulate our negotiators for all of their hard work on behalf of America's businesses and workers.

NOTE: This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

**Notice—Continuation of Emergency
With Respect to Significant Narcotics
Traffickers Centered in Colombia**

October 17, 1997

On October 21, 1995, by Executive Order 12978, I declared a national emergency to deal with the unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States constituted by the actions of significant foreign narcotics traffickers centered in Colombia, and the unparalleled violence, corruption, and harm that they cause in the United States and abroad. The order blocks all property and interests in property of foreign persons listed in an Annex to the order, as well as foreign persons determined to play a significant role in international narcotics trafficking centered in Colombia, to materially assist in, or provide financial or technological support for or goods or services in support of, the narcotics trafficking activities of persons designated in or pursuant to the order, or to be owned or controlled by, or to act for or on behalf of, persons designated in or pursuant to the order. The order also prohibits any transaction or dealing by United States persons or within the United States in such property or interests in property. Because the activities of significant narcotics traffickers centered in Colombia continue to threaten the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States and to cause unparalleled violence, corruption, and harm in the United States and abroad, the national emergency declared on October 21, 1995, and the measures adopted pursuant thereto to deal with that emergency, must continue in effect beyond October 21, 1997. Therefore, in accordance with section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), I am continuing the national emergency for 1 year with respect to significant narcotics traffickers centered in Colombia.

This notice shall be published in the *Federal Register* and transmitted to the Congress.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
October 17, 1997.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:37 a.m., October 17, 1997]

NOTE: This notice was published in the *Federal Register* on October 20. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

**Letter to Congressional Leaders
Transmitting the Notice on Narcotics
Traffickers in Colombia**

October 17, 1997

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)) provides for the automatic termination of a national emergency unless, prior to the anniversary date of its declaration, the President publishes in the *Federal Register* and transmits to the Congress a notice stating that the emergency is to continue in effect beyond the anniversary date. In accordance with this provision, I have sent the enclosed notice to the *Federal Register* for publication, stating that the emergency declared with respect to significant narcotics traffickers centered in Colombia is to continue in effect for 1 year beyond October 21, 1997.

The circumstances that led to the declaration on October 21, 1995, of a national emergency have not been resolved. The actions of significant narcotics traffickers centered in Colombia continue to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States and to cause unparalleled violence, corruption, and harm in the United States and abroad. For these reasons, I have determined that it is necessary to maintain in force the broad authorities necessary to maintain economic pressure on significant narcotics traffickers centered in Colombia by blocking their property subject to the jurisdiction of the United States and by depriving them of access to the U.S. market and financial system.

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate. This

item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Proclamation 7042—National Forest Products Week, 1997

October 17, 1997

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

America's forests are a precious resource, making numerous rich contributions not only to the natural splendor of our Nation, but also to the well-being of our people. Whether part of the vast acreages that make up our industrial, State, and National forests or rural woodlots and urban forests, they offer us clean water and air, priceless wildlife habitat and fisheries, welcome settings for recreation, and breathtaking beauty. Our forests also provide us with more tangible products essential to everyday living: wood and paper products for our homes, schools, and offices, and even medicines and food.

While the wood products we harvest from our forests can be so durable that they last for centuries, forest ecosystems themselves are very fragile. America's growing population and urban expansion are putting ever-increasing demands on forest lands and resources. We must work together to devise imaginative forest management approaches that will allow us to preserve and cultivate healthy forest ecosystems, meet the need for forest products, provide jobs for those who depend on forests for their livelihood, and continue to offer Americans enjoyable recreational opportunities.

Fortunately, forest research is equipping us with vital knowledge that can help us to balance the many and varied demands on our woodlands. Thanks to such research, we are now using new products and innovative technologies and employing new recycling methods that not only extend the available supply of raw materials, but also help us to process those materials more efficiently and with fewer harmful by-products. This use of science to balance the needs of our people both for forest products and a healthy environment will help us to achieve our goal of sustainable forest management.

All of us are indebted to past generations of Americans whose vision and generosity preserved so many of our Nation's great forests for our use and pleasure. Now it falls to us to continue their wise stewardship so that we may pass on to future generations this priceless natural legacy.

In recognition of the central role our forests play in the long-term welfare of our Nation, the Congress, by Public Law 86-753 (36 U.S.C. 163), has designated the week beginning on the third Sunday in October of each year as "National Forest Products Week" and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this week.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim October 19 through October 25, 1997, as National Forest Products Week. I call upon all Americans to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this seventeenth day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-second.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., October 20, 1997]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on October 21. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Proclamation 7043—National Character Counts Week, 1997

October 17, 1997

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

The roots of America's greatness are embedded in the character of its citizens. From our Founders' passion for justice and equality to the social consciousness and humanitarian spirit of today's citizens, the character of our people has inspired the world. Undeniably,

character does count for our citizens, our communities, and our Nation, and this week we celebrate the importance of character in our individual lives and in the life of our country.

Instilling sound character in our children is essential to maintaining the strength of our Nation into the 21st century. The core ethical values of trustworthiness, fairness, responsibility, caring, respect, and citizenship form the foundation of our democracy, our economy, and our society. These qualities are not innate but learned, and we must ensure that we nurture them—both through our words and our example—in our Nation's young people.

More than any other institution, the family is the cradle of character, giving children their first crucial lessons in attitude and behavior. In today's complex society, where children are subject to pressures and negative influences rarely experienced by earlier generations, parents face great challenges as they strive to impart to their children the values that will help them become caring and responsible members of society.

My Administration has worked hard to give parents new tools to help them fulfill their important responsibilities. We worked to require V-chips on all new televisions to give parents greater control over what their children watch; we collaborated with the television industry to encourage the airing of more educational programming for children; and we negotiated a breakthrough agreement with the entertainment and broadcast industries to create a voluntary ratings system that will help parents identify programs containing material inappropriate for children. Our proposed funding for the Anti-Gang and Youth Violence Strategy will provide for after-school initiatives in communities across the country to help keep young people occupied in wholesome activities, off the streets, and out of trouble while their parents are at work.

Schools also have an important role in educating our young people about the difference between right and wrong. My Administration has recognized this by creating partnerships with the States to help our schools do a better job of teaching character to America's students. Our push for rigorous standards and

our promise to open the doors of college to all students who work hard let students know that good character really does count and will be rewarded with expanded opportunity. We also should encourage and commend the schools across our country that have begun to incorporate volunteer service as a curriculum requirement, teaching students the important life lessons of sharing, compassion, and civic responsibility.

Developing strong values in America's children requires the participation of all our people. As we observe this special week, I ask that all Americans demonstrate in their personal and public lives, and teach actively to our country's children, the high ethical standards that are essential to good character and to the continued success of our Nation.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim October 19 through October 25, 1997, as National Character Counts Week. I call upon the people of the United States, government officials, educators, religious, community, and business leaders, and the States to commemorate this week with appropriate ceremonies, activities, and programs.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this seventeenth day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-second.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:38 a.m., October 20, 1997]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on October 21. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

The President's Radio Address

October 18, 1997

Good morning. This week Hillary and I have been visiting our neighbors in South America. Along with the distinguished American delegation of Congressmen, several

Cabinet members, and other members of the administration, we've savored the hospitality and the uniqueness of each country. But as we've traveled from Venezuela to Brazil to Argentina, we've also had the chance to see that much more unites the people of the Americas than separates us.

We cherish the same values: freedom and equality, family and community, peace and democracy. We aspire to prosperity through free enterprise, open markets, a commitment to give everyone who will work for it a chance to succeed, and a dedication to preserving the environment while growing the economy. And we all believe in providing all our children with a world-class education so that they can fulfill their God-given promise in the 21st century.

Last summer's balanced budget agreement, with the largest new investment in education since 1965, will take us a long way toward our sweeping but straightforward agenda. By the year 2000, we want to ensure that every 8-year-old can read, every 12-year-old can log on to the Internet, every 18-year-old can go on to college, and every adult can keep on learning.

On this trip, we worked to establish education partnerships with other countries, especially in bringing the benefits of technology and the Internet to even the very poorest neighborhoods and village schools.

Back home, as the new school year gets really underway, we're hooking up more of our own classrooms to the Internet, kicking off the America Reads program to mobilize a huge number of volunteers, especially college students and young AmeriCorps team leaders, to make sure that all of our children can read independently by the third grade. And we're finally opening the doors of college to anyone who is willing to work for it, with more Pell grants and work-study slots, the \$1,500 a year HOPE scholarship tax credit for the first 2 years of college, and tax cuts and education IRA's to help students pay for the cost of the junior and senior years, graduate school, and other training.

Still, we can't rest. A vital and vigorous debate over how best to improve public education will be waiting for me when I get back to Washington. Everyone knows we need to do more to boost the quality of public

schools; the question is, how? Some people think we should give students vouchers to help pay for private schools if they don't think public schools are good enough. They say the competition will even make the public schools better. It may sound like a good argument, but I think it's wrong. Too many of our public schools are underfunded already, and besides, there are better ways to improve the public schools in a way that doesn't siphon off precious tax dollars to help a few students at the expense of the other 90 percent.

My strategy is to set high standards, measure student performance against them, inject more competition and choice into the public school system, and support local initiatives like school uniforms, after-school and summer-school programs that increase order, safety, and learning.

First, we must set national standards of academic achievement and then have voluntary tests, starting with fourth-grade reading and eighth-grade math, to measure them. Second, we must recruit more volunteers to America Reads so that we can have an army of volunteer reading tutors in our schools, helping every child read independently by the end of the third grade. Third, we must also bring more choice and competition into public education. The right way to do this is by empowering more parents and students to choose the public schools they attend and by bringing more charter schools to more communities.

Since I became President, the number of public charter schools in America has grown from one to 700. Parents, educators, and community leaders are creating and operating these new schools within the public school system that are freed from bureaucratic redtape but accountable to parents, students, and communities that support them. And they stay open only if they meet the high standards of performance.

I endorse bipartisan efforts in the House and Senate to help communities open 3,000 more charter schools in the coming years by giving States incentives to issue more charters, more flexibility to try new reforms and strengthen accountability, and funds to help them get started, funds guaranteed in our balanced budget agreement. Now, that's a

good example of what I mean when I say politics should stop at the schoolhouse door.

We also have to strengthen existing schools. I support another bipartisan proposal that will help low-achieving, low-income schools transform themselves through proven reforms, everything from intensive reading instruction to school uniforms to after-school tutoring to mandatory summer school for students who fall behind.

Virtually every problem facing our schools today has been solved by a community somewhere in America. We have to bring these solutions to the schools that need them the most. The good news is we can do it, as the rising performance of our students compared to students in other nations shows.

Our schools are improving, and they can get better, much better. No single magic bullet will improve our schools, but high standards, the voluntary tests to measure them, good teaching, well-run schools with the latest technology, and old-fashioned, safe, orderly environments will make education better. Working together, we can do it. Our children deserve no less, and our Nation's future depends upon it.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 8:15 a.m. on October 17 in Room 2233 of the Sheraton Hotel in Buenos Aires, Argentina, for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on October 18.

Remarks at Nahuel Huapi National Park in San Carlos de Bariloche, Argentina

October 18, 1997

President Menem, distinguished members of the Argentine Government, Governor Verani, Mayor Miguel, Dr. Varotta, Director Suarez, and Colonel Cabana, thank you very much.

Mr. President, let me begin by thanking you for your wonderful hospitality to Hillary, to me, to all of our team from the Cabinet and the American administration. We're very grateful to you. We are also grateful for our broad and deep partnership with Argentina. From peacekeeping missions around the globe to our cooperation in the far reaches of outer space, from expanding trade to ex-

tending its benefits to all our people, from the peaceful use of nuclear power to the fight against terrorism, over the last 2 days we have worked hard to deepen our cooperation to benefit all of our people.

For the children in this audience, our partnership to protect the environment of our nations and the entire globe is perhaps the most important part of what we must do together.

Eighty-four years ago this month, two visionaries of the Americas arrived together in this place where nature and civilization meet. One was Theodore Roosevelt. No American President had spent more time thinking about the New World as a community of democracies. No American President had done more to preserve and protect our natural environment. His traveling companion was Perito Moreno, the man who founded this magnificent domain, Nahuel Huapi National Park, a remarkable gift to future generations.

Mr. President, it is up to us now to act with the foresight and in the spirit of Roosevelt and Moreno in dealing with today's great environmental challenges: how to bring the blessings of global growth to all nations and still protect not just our national environments but the planet itself.

One of our severest challenges clearly is climate change. The evidence is compelling that increasing emissions of greenhouse gases are leading to the warming of our planet and that global warming could lead to profound and destructive changes in the way we lead our lives. Among the consequences will be the more rapid spread of diseases, the rising of the oceans, flooding lowlands on various continents and islands in the oceans, and more frequent and severe weather events in all continents, including more severe droughts and floods.

Five years ago, the nations of the world began to address this challenge at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro. This December, when more than 150 nations gather in Kyoto, Japan, we can make, and we must make, more progress toward a solution. Our goal must be to set realistic and binding limits on greenhouse gas emissions and then to create a blueprint to guide us for the future.

In meeting the challenge of climate change, clearly the United States and the rest

of the developed world must lead. For today, industrialized nations produce most of the greenhouse gases that go into our atmosphere. But emissions from the developing world are expected to grow dramatically. Forty years from now, they will exceed those of developed countries. Since the issue is how to stabilize and reduce greenhouse gases in the entire atmosphere, this is clearly a global problem in which we must all do our share.

I applaud the leadership of President Menem in Argentina in affirming today that developing as well as developed nations should have emissions targets. And we have agreed to pursue joint implementation, an important tool that will allow the United States and Argentine businesses to adopt the most cost-effective emissions reductions. We have seen clearly in the United States over and over again that we solve our environmental problems more quickly when we work together with technology and markets through the private sector.

I want to make it clear that the strategy we embrace today does not ask developing nations to sacrifice the legitimate aspirations of their people for economic growth. Instead, it offers an important opening to chart a new energy course that is consistent with growth but makes sure that today's progress does not come at tomorrow's expense.

This endeavor will require sustained, committed partnership. The United States is committed to providing a billion dollars to help developing nations find alternative energy sources and use them more efficiently. Next year at the Summit of the Americas in Santiago, we hope to make sustainable development a cornerstone of a new era in inter-American cooperation.

As you have heard from the previous speakers, technology, science, and education are important allies in preserving the environment. Here in Bariloche, Argentina is building satellites that NASA will launch. And then from high above the Earth's atmosphere, they will help us to keep an eye on our planet's changing contours, including surveying the forest in Chaco, in the Mesopotamia, predicting agricultural patterns in La Pampa, monitoring the deserts in Pata-

gonia, even tracking endangered whales in the south Atlantic.

And the GLOBE program is using the Internet to teach students here and in over 50 other countries that a solid grasp of science and ecology is indeed the first step toward a cleaner world. Today I am pleased to announce that working with Argentina, we're establishing a new GLOBE program at a school in a very special place, Antarctica, a treasure held in trust for every person on Earth. I'm also pleased that the United States National Park Service and the Argentine National Parks Administration has signed an agreement for a 5-year program of cooperation.

If you look at the national park around us here and its power to renew the soul, it certainly gives evidence to the truth of what the Argentine writer Victoria Ocampo wrote, when she said, "We possess only what we really love." Well, this land belongs to everyone. It is protected by the Government, but we must all love it.

Yesterday, Mr. President, Hillary and I had a chance to walk through the magical Arrayanes Forest. It was an experience we will never forget. And it gave us a renewed dedication to work with you to preserve our planet for these children and those whom they represent the world over.

At the dawn of a new century, let us resolve not only to give our children remarkable new economic and educational opportunities but to preserve our hemisphere and our Earth and to give new meaning to the words *Nuevo Mundo*.

Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:05 a.m. at the Llao Llao Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Governor Pablo Verani, Rio Negro Province; Mayor Cesar Miguel of San Carlos de Bariloche; Conrado Franco Varotta, Executive Director, Argentine National Commission for Space; Carlos Suarez, executive director, Institute of Energy Economics, Bariloche Foundation; and Col. Robert D. Cabana, USMC, NASA astronaut. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Radio Remarks on Voluntary National Testing for Basic Education Skills

October 20, 1997

A new study released by the Department of Education today confirms what most of us knew instinctively already: Students, especially low income students, who challenge themselves with rigorous math and science courses in high school are much more likely to go on to college.

I've worked hard to make college affordable for all Americans. Our increased Pell grants and work-study positions, the new HOPE scholarship tax credits for the first 2 years of college, and other tax credits in education IRA's for the remaining years, graduate school, and other training, all these will truly open the doors of college to all who are willing to work for it.

We've addressed the economic barriers. Now we have to tackle the academic ones. While the studies show that taking algebra in middle school was essential to preparing for advanced math and science classes, just 25 percent of our eighth graders took algebra in 1996. We must do better. That's why I call upon all Americans to support our voluntary national tests for fourth-grade reading and eighth-grade math, to ensure that all our children meet the high standards of academic excellence they'll need to succeed in tomorrow's world. Our math test will make sure our children master algebra and prepare for math and science courses that lead to college.

I call upon Congress to end the delays. Our children are counting on us.

NOTE: This address was recorded at 9:43 a.m. on October 17 in Room 2233 at the Sheraton Hotel in Buenos Aires, Argentina, for later domestic broadcast, and it was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 20.

Remarks on the America Reads Initiative

October 21, 1997

Thank you very much. Secretary Riley, Dr. Corrigan, Senator Kennedy, Senator Specter, Congressmen Etheridge and Miller and Hoyer. And I thank the Members of Con-

gress not here in both parties who support this program.

Thank you, Eric Castillo, for what you do and for representing a new generation of American college students, I believe among the most idealistic and community service-oriented young people we have ever had in the colleges and universities of this country—and a rebuke to the superficial and downright wrong characterizations of Generation X as not caring about the future of this country. And I thank you for that.

And thank you, Victoria, for reading the book with me and making me look good. *[Laughter]* You did an excellent job. Her mother is here. I'd like to ask her mother to stand. Thank you very much for coming. *[Applause]* And they did a great job. Thank you. I thank all the other young students and all the other college students who are here, and a special word of thanks to all the college and university presidents who have joined us today.

We have just seen a concrete and, I thought, very moving example of the difference reading can make in the lives of our children. We also ought to remember the difference that this can make in the future of our country as we move into a new century and a very different time.

In the last 5 years, together we have done a lot to prepare our country for the 21st century: a new economic policy that works, a new crime policy that works, a new welfare reform policy that works, expanding health care coverage to our children, improving the environment, now opening the doors of college to all who are willing to work for it. But to fundamentally succeed in having an America where opportunity is open to everyone who will work for it and where everyone can be a part of a thriving American community, we must give all our children the world's best education.

By the year 2000, we should succeed in seeing that every 8-year-old can read independently, that every 12-year-old can log onto the Internet, that every 18-year-old can go on to college, and that every adult in our country can continue to learn for a lifetime.

We have made historic progress toward these goals. Last summer's balanced budget contained the biggest increased investment

in education since 1965, the biggest increase in access to higher education since the GI bill 50 years ago. It will go a long way toward funding our mission to connect every classroom and library to the Internet by the year 2000. But all of this progress will be limited if our children do not first master the basics. The next major step is to make sure every 8-year-old can do what Secretary Riley's grandchild and Victoria can do—they can say, "I can read this book all by myself."

We know that children who don't read well by the end of the third grade are more likely to drop out of school and far less likely to realize their full potential. We know that children who receive the help they need are much more likely to succeed in school and in life.

Today, 40 percent of our Nation's 8-year-olds are not reading as well as they should. There are many reasons for this. We come from many different places, and we have more and more young children whose first language is not even English. But none of these reasons is an excuse for our inaction, particularly when we see that action can produce the kind of results that Victoria showed us today.

That is one of the reasons that I have supported high national standards for reading and national examinations to make sure our children are reaching those standards. And that is the main reason we have launched America Reads. Over a year ago, it began with a simple idea, that a well-trained, coordinated army of a million volunteers could be rallied to teach our children. I called on every sector of society to help us mobilize this citizen army, specifically challenging colleges and universities to use their new work-study slots to train tutors. There are 300,000 of those new slots that have been approved by our Congress in the last 2 years. And to help them do it, we waived the requirement that colleges pay 25 percent of work-study wages.

Our college and university presidents and our college students have more than risen to meet this challenge. Last December, 21 college presidents, led by President Corrigan, pledged to start these programs for their students and urge others to do the same. You heard President Corrigan say that

now almost 800 colleges and universities have joined America Reads. These voluntary commitments will reach hundreds of thousands of children and help them to reach their dreams. And I might say that a lot of the colleges and universities are finding that they have more people who want to participate than they have work-study slots. They even have people who want to participate who aren't eligible for work-study and just want to do it because they think it's the right thing to do.

At Yale, 300 students applied for 60 work-study slots. At the University of Michigan, 400 applied for 84 slots. At Miami Dade Community College, our Nation's largest community college, more than 150 tutors have been trained and already are helping students throughout your hometown. In Boston, an energetic group appropriately called Jump Start teamed up with several local colleges to connect work-study students to children who need help. These are just a few examples.

I want to join Secretary Riley and thank my longtime friend Carol Rasco for the outstanding leadership she has given this program. I thank the Department of Education. But most of all, I thank the young people of this country who are responding to the challenge.

And I might say also, as we all know, the challenge is not wholly confined to our colleges and universities. I just received the quarterly report of the church that Hillary and I attend here in Washington. They have 45 members of the church involved in America Reads. This idea is catching fire in America. The interest is there, the concern is there, the commitment is there to meet our goal.

That's why it is so important for Congress to fund America Reads, as President Corrigan said. It was agreed as part of our balanced budget agreement. The proposal will pay for 25,000 reading specialists and coordinators to coordinate the tutor training and support we need to enlist, train, and put into action the entire army of America Reads volunteers to serve every child in America, like Victoria and the others who are here, who are out there waiting to meet a volunteer.

Also, because parents are our children's first and most important teachers, the proposal includes challenge grants to help parents do more to teach their children to read. I think that is critically important, and that is a part of the program that is in the budget. These approaches are the best things we know to do to teach our kids to read. They're already working in places like Simpson County, Kentucky, where AmeriCorps members help students jump an average of 3 grade levels in 8 months; working in Reading, Ohio, where trained parent volunteers are helping their kindergarten-aged children make 3 times the progress of children who don't get the extra help; working in my home State of Arkansas, where the Home Institution Program for Preschool Youngsters, HIPPPY, brings parents into their children's learning process with stunning results; working here in the District of Columbia, where this February we launched DC Reads to bring together literacy programs and local volunteer reading tutors. With America Reads, it can work all over the country for every child who needs it.

This reflects the commitment, I might add, that thousands of Americans made at the Presidents' Summit on Service in Philadelphia a few months ago, to marshal the resources of every part of our society to help our children get a good education, get basic health care, do it in a safe environment with adult mentors, and with a chance for all children themselves to serve.

We've made a lot of progress since the summit on all fronts. Especially, I want to note that we've increased the number of AmeriCorps scholarships, recognized high school service, encouraged private businesses to help parents move from welfare to work. But we have to give all children the chance to learn and all Americans the chance to serve. The great thing about America Reads is it serves two of the goals of the summit: It gives children a good education, and it gives young people the chance to serve.

It would be a shame, with all the children out there who still need help learning to read and who want to get it, with all the parents who are yearning to do the best job they can as parents raising their children, with all the idealistic students and other American citi-

zens who want to be a part of this program—it would be a shame if we did not reach the full goal of America Reads. We have to have a bipartisan commitment to education that transcends politics. We have to have a follow-through on the bipartisan commitment to fund America Reads to its full potential.

The renowned African-American educator Mary McLeod Bethune once said, "The whole world opened up to me when I learned to read." We read "The Carrot Seed" today. Instead of the carrot, think about Victoria. Think about a million Victorias. Think about millions and millions more. We are the planters of the seed. We have to first plant the seed, and then we have to tell the doubters it will grow.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:43 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Robert A. Corrigan, president, San Francisco State University; Eric Castillo, tutor, America Reads Foundation; Victoria Adeniji, second-grade student tutored in the America Reads program, and her mother, Felicia; and Carol H. Rasco, Director, America Reads Foundation.

Remarks to the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues

October 21, 1997

Thank you, Eleanor, for that introduction. We've been friends a long time and, frankly, I had forgotten that I had done some of those things. [*Laughter*] Thank you, Nancy Johnson, Madam Secretary. Thank you, First Lady, for now spending more than half your life at least acquainted with me in some form or fashion—[*laughter*—almost half of it married.

I congratulate the members of the caucus on 20 years of leadership. I thank Women's Policy Inc. for hosting this event, and I am delighted to be here, not only with the Secretary of State but also with Audrey Haines, the Director of the White House Office for Women's Initiatives and Outreach, and several other outstanding senior officials of the White House.

I, too, want to pay tribute to Margaret Heckler and Elizabeth Holtzman for their vision in creating this office, for the leadership

that—[applause]—thank you—for the past leadership of Olympia Snowe and Pat Schroeder, Connie Morella, and Nita Lowey. And, of course, to Nancy Johnson and Eleanor Holmes Norton, who show no lack of energy in pressing your cause with the President.

When Nancy mentioned there are now 52 members of this caucus in the House of Representatives, I was sitting next to Hillary, and I knew what she was thinking: That's about 52 too few. [Laughter] And I was thinking it, too, based on your record.

I think the thing that has been overlooked in this whole endeavor of trying to give more sensitivity to issues of special concern to women and trying to give women more opportunities to serve is that we live in an age where every public figure says, as if it were just a cliché, that the most important resource in any human endeavor in the private sector or the public sector is our people. And yet, we cavalierly go on in example after example after example not giving all our people the chance to live up to the fullest of their God-given capacities and make the greatest service they can to the rest of us to promote the general welfare. I've done what I could to correct that, partly based on the example of my wife, my mother, and my grandmother, and partly because I have known so many of you personally, and partly because it is manifest that we have to find a way to reach across all the lines in our society and lift up everyone to the position of his or her highest and best use and potential.

In that connection, I would like to thank the newly confirmed Ambassador to the Vatican, Lindy Boggs, for her willingness to serve.

I've been proud to work with you on a lot of issues. Most of them have been mentioned tonight—the family and medical leave law, which has changed more lives than almost any bill that we've passed around here in a long time. Everywhere I go around the country now, people still come up to me and tell me personal stories of how that law changed their lives. The Kassebaum-Kennedy bill, the minimum wage, the child care, the adoption tax credit, increased child support enforcement, the family violence initiatives—all these things have made a dif-

ference. The hand of this caucus was felt heavily in the recent balanced budget, with the single biggest aid to education increase since '65, the biggest increase in aid to children's health since Medicaid in '65, and the children's tax credit. So, the country is in your debt.

And I do believe that the bipartisan nature of this caucus has made a profound difference. I know that we're joined tonight by the Democratic leader, Dick Gephardt, and I believe Speaker Gingrich wanted to be here and had to be in Georgia tonight. I know Mr. Gephardt would agree with me that all of us have been impressed by how you are able to stay together, work together, and, in Eleanor's terms, get down to business no matter how crazy things get in this occasionally loony town. And for that, too, we are all in your debt, for you set an example that everyone else should follow.

I'd like to talk just a moment about health issues. Hillary mentioned them and has worked on them so hard, and others have mentioned them. The budget not only provided for \$24 billion to extend health coverage to 5 million children who don't have it, thus giving greater peace of mind to the parents who are raising them, both as parents and also when they're away at work, it did a lot more for the health of women. It expanded Medicare to cover bone mass measurement for women at risk of osteoporosis. Funding for osteoporosis research has now reached more than \$100 million at NIH. It expanded Medicare to cover annual mammograms for all women over the age of 49 and eliminated the copayments to make these examinations more affordable. These were important things, and we have more to do.

We have to continue our focus on women's health. Since I took office, funding for breast cancer research, prevention, and treatment has almost doubled, and we've discovered two breast cancer genes, holding great promise for the development of new prevention strategies, something that's profoundly important to all of us who have ever dealt with this in our families.

We're unlocking the mysteries of the genetic code and continuing to discover new ways to diagnose and treat genetic disorders. But we know that these breakthroughs also

bring with them the need for new protections. Studies show the leading reason women do not take advantage of new genetic breast cancer tests is because they fear they will be discriminated in health plans if the tests come out the wrong way. This is wrong, and it ought to be illegal.

So I want to work with you to get Congress to pass bipartisan legislation that will ban all health plans, group and individual, from denying coverage or raising premiums on the basis of genetic tests. After all, if we can get everybody to take the tests, if they know what they're up against, in the end we will prevent more severe illness, we will reduce cost to the health care system, and we shouldn't punish individuals for doing something that we know is not only in their own interest but is in the interest of society.

Also, legislation should prohibit all health plans from disclosing genetic information that could be misused by other insurers. It ought to protect researchers' ability to make the best use of this important tool. So, again, let me applaud those, especially Representative Slaughter and Senator Snowe, for their leadership. Genetic discrimination legislation deserves action now.

Let me also say that many of you in this room have contributed to our efforts to support legislation to protect women who have had mastectomies. They shouldn't be forced out of the hospital before they're ready because of pressure from a health plan. It's unacceptable that Congress has not yet held a hearing on the DeLauro-Dingell-Roukema 48-hour mastectomy patient protection bill, and we need to keep pushing for that.

And finally, we need to keep breaking down the doors and breaking through the glass ceilings and acting to bring women the full measure of economic and legal equity to which they're entitled. This caucus and our administration, under the leadership of Aida Alvarez, continues to work to counter the effects of discrimination and long-developed networks which hinder the success of women- and minority-owned businesses. I'm proud of the fact that the SBA in the last 5 years has tripled the number of loans to women businesses, and I thank you for your support of the disadvantaged business enterprise program, which has successfully in-

creased the percentage of women- and minority-owned construction firms. I'm pleased to say that this has now passed both Houses, and I hope you'll keep up the fight so that it actually reaches my desk.

Twenty years after its creation, the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues commands the respect that you've always deserved. You now have a record you can be proud of. You work in a way that you can be proud of. You can feel the respect here in this audience this evening of all the people who have come to pay tribute.

Tonight is a night for celebration. We celebrate an initiative taken in 1977, a celebration of 20 years of hard work, of the many initiatives that you have accomplished, but most importantly, I'm here to celebrate the energy, the intelligence, the character, and the old-fashioned patriotic devotion to the task at hand that will bring you even more brilliant achievements in the years ahead.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:27 p.m. in the Mellon Auditorium at the Department of Commerce. In his remarks, he referred to Delegate Eleanor Holmes Norton and Representative Nancy L. Johnson, cochairs, former Representatives Margaret M. Heckler and Elizabeth Holtzman, founders and original cochairs, and former Representative Patricia Schroeder, former cochair, Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues; and former Representative Corinne Claiborne (Lindy) Boggs.

Remarks at a Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee Dinner

October 21, 1997

Thank you very much. Thank you for being here. Thank you for your exuberant welcome. Thank you for what it means. You know that our country is better off than it was 5 years ago. You know it's because we worked together to change the direction of this country. And you know that's what really counts in the lives of the American people. We could use more of you in Washington, DC, reminding people here about what really counts in the lives of the American people. And we thank you for your support.

I want to thank, first of all, Tom Daschle. There is no way that I can convey to you

the extraordinary leadership that he has given to the United States Senate and the Democratic caucus. Senator Kerrey talked about it a little bit. It's really an easy job; there are no egos in the Senate. [Laughter] Everybody comes from the same kind of place; there are no genuinely conflicting interests. [Laughter] It's always fun to be in the minority when you're getting your brains beat out; there's no difficulty there. [Laughter] It's an extraordinarily difficult job. He's done it with grace and good humor, with brilliance and insight and genuine courage on occasion after occasion. And this country is very fortunate that Tom Daschle is in the leadership of the Congress.

I want to thank my longtime friend Senator Bob Kerrey for his willingness to do this job in the toughest of all times and to do it superbly well and to continue to fight to push our party and our country toward change. Whether it's reforming the IRS, facing the difficult issue of entitlements, Bob Kerrey is always willing to be on the cutting edge of change. And my belief is that every single election, if given the chance, will be an election where the voters vote for the future. And we have tried to give them a chance to have a Democratic Party that was about the future, in no small measure because of you, Senator Kerrey, and we thank you for it very much.

Lastly, let me thank Senator Torricelli. I had the privilege of campaigning side by side with Bob Torricelli in New Jersey last year. And they said the polls were really close, and then something happened at the end and they miraculously opened up. They opened up for him, and they opened up for me. And the people of New Jersey have been very good to me now twice. But in 1996, it was an extraordinary election. And also, it was amazing how that nip-and-tuck Senate race just ballooned at the end, and Senator Torricelli opened his substantial lead. I think it's because people saw that if they voted for him, they would have somebody who (a) was on their side, and (b) wasn't afraid to fight for them.

And when I see Bob Torricelli trying to cut through the smokescreens and the rhetoric and the hot air and the disingenuous arguments that he has been willing to take on

almost singlehandedly, day-in and day-out, to stand up and fight for his party, his President, and his principles, it makes me thank goodness that he is a United States Senator. And I will never forget him.

And I want to thank the Senators that are the cochairs of this event tonight, Senator Bingaman, Senator Bryan, Senator Rockefeller, Senator Mikulski, Senator Ford. I want to join in what has already been said by Bob Kerrey about Wendell Ford and John Glenn and my longtime dear friend Dale Bumpers. I didn't want any of them to quit, and I was mad about it for 2 or 3 days. And then I realized it was not my choice and not my life. And they have more than served their country and more than paid their dues. But this is a much, much better America because of the service that has been given to us by Wendell Ford and John Glenn and Dale Bumpers. It's a better country, and we should all be grateful.

I come here tonight to say that we should go into the contest in 1998 united, and we should go into the contest based on the issues. Let the other side continue to follow the politics of personal destruction. Let us tell the American people what we have done and what we intend to do. Let us give them a chance to vote for their future and their children, for a vision of America in the 21st century that will give us opportunity for everyone responsible enough to work for it, a country that is coming together instead of being driven apart, and a Nation still strong and visionary enough to lead the world toward peace and freedom, prosperity and security. That is our job.

And when you come here and make your contributions and support our endeavors, I want you to know that that's what the leaders of this organization believe and that's what I believe.

We had success in 1996 for some very simple reasons. One, we promised to get rid of trickle-down economics and replace it with invest-and-grow economics. The American people had an economic policy that worked, and it affected their lives.

Second, we promised to get rid of hot air and tough talk on crime and replace it with tough and smart action on crime. We had

a crime policy that worked, and it made a difference in people's lives.

We promised to get away from tough talk and anecdotes about welfare and try to give people a new approach to welfare that would reward work and childhood, that would be tough in work requirements but good for children. And it's working.

We promised that we would fight for a clean environment, even as we tried to grow the economy. And we fought off a ferocious attack on our environmental protections.

We promised to fight for a safe and secure workplace, even as we tried to grow the economy. And we fought off a ferocious attack on the rules which protect workplace safety.

We promised to modernize the Government. We downsized it by 300,000 without putting people in the street, got rid of thousands of pages of regulation and hundreds of programs, and put more money into education and technology. And it's worked. We promised we could reduce the deficit and grow the economy and invest more in our people, and it has worked.

That is what accounted for the success in 1996. Ideas have consequences. And people who are willing and disciplined enough to implement their ideas can change the course of a country. That is what this is all about. Don't ever forget that what you do here has consequences.

And we had a balanced budget that passed by overwhelming bipartisan margins in both the Senate and the House. And I was glad of that, glad to celebrate it. But I think you know which party was passionately fighting for the biggest increase in aid to education since 1965, for the biggest increase in aid in access to college since the GI bill in 1945, for our ability now to say that we have truly opened the doors of college to every American responsible enough to work for it. I think you know which party was fighting for the \$24 billion to provide health insurance to 5 million children in working families who don't have it today. I think you know which party was fighting for that.

But what I don't want you to ever forget is, before we ever passed that budget, the deficit had already been reduced by more than 80 percent from its 1992 high, because of the votes taken only by members of your

party in 1993 to drive the deficit down and get the economy going again. And nobody should ever be permitted to forget it.

We've got a lot to do in the future. We have to raise the standards of our schools and give people more choices in the public schools they attend and make things that work more prevalent in all of our school districts.

We have a big challenge to face in fulfilling our solemn responsibilities on global climate change. We have 4 percent of the world's people; we contribute 26 percent of the world's greenhouse gases; we enjoy 22 percent of the world's economic growth. The climate is warming more rapidly than any time in the last 10,000 years. No one knows when something bad will happen or exactly what it will be, but the overwhelming consensus of scientists is that we must reduce our greenhouse gases. I am prepared to see the United States take the lead. But I am not a pessimist. Every single action the United States has taken since 1970 to clean up our own environment has led to more jobs, a diversifying economy, a stronger American economy, a brighter American future. And so will this. And that's what we're going to do. But I refuse to hide our heads in the sand. We have to face that.

The Democratic Party will have to prove in the next couple of years that we can preserve Social Security and we can preserve Medicare for the next generation without bankrupting our children and our grandchildren to pay for it. That is the responsible position, and we can do it in a progressive way. But we are the party that will have to do the work if you want it to be done in that way. We have to keep pushing forward into the future.

The Democratic Party should pass, working with our friends in the Republican Congress who will agree with us, a genuinely progressive settlement to protect our children from the dangers of tobacco. And we can do it in the right way, and we need to do it immediately—next year—as quickly as we can.

Tomorrow the First Lady and I are hosting the first-ever conference at the White House on child care. We know that there are millions of people who have to go to work every day worried about whether their kids have

adequate child care or worried about how in the world they're going to pay for it. We know that child care takes almost 20 percent of the average lower income person's paycheck. We've got to make sure that if we're really going to balance work and family in the 21st century, people can have adequate and affordable child care.

There are lots of things to do out there. But we have to be bound together by our vision. We stand for opportunity and responsibility. We stand for work and family. We stand for individual liberty and the community. And we know America cannot be strong at home unless it is strong abroad.

I pray that the Democrats never turn away from our responsibilities to lead the world toward peace and freedom and prosperity and security. Whether it's in the Middle East or Northern Ireland or Latin America or South Asia or the Far East or in Africa, we have got to work to see that the people of the world keep growing together. We must never return to war, and we must try to stop the wars that exist now, and we must expand our opportunities to relate to each other in more peaceful, productive ways.

I want to thank the Democratic caucus for one other thing. Unanimously, our caucus—unanimously—voted to support campaign finance reform this year, and I thank them—every last, single one. I don't know how long we will have to labor under the illusion that somehow there is no responsibility for this issue or somehow everyone is responsible. The White House is for campaign finance reform. The Democratic caucus is unanimously for campaign finance reform. The vast majority of the Members of the House in our caucus are for it. We will get it—when we can get enough help from our friends in the Republican Party, we will have campaign finance reform. And I hope that it will become clear that that is what has to be done.

Lastly, let me say, be of good cheer when you go into this campaign. If you read American history books, you will see that, typically, in the second term of an incumbent President, the party of the President normally doesn't do all that well at midterm elections. There is a reason for that. People think the sun is setting and the energy is running out and the steam is getting weak. Well, the sun

is not setting, the energy is not running out, and I will be working full tilt until the last minute of the last hour of the last day. And I want you to give me a Democratic Senate to work with.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:35 p.m. in the Ballroom at the Hyatt Regency Hotel.

Remarks at the National Geographic Society

October 22, 1997

Thank you very much, Mr. Murphy, Mr. Vice President, all of you who are here. I thank especially the Members of Congress who are here, the leaders of labor and business who are here, all the members of the administration, and especially the White House staff members that the Vice President mentioned and the Secretary of Energy, the Administrator of EPA, and the others who have helped us to come to this moment.

On the way in here, we were met by the leaders of the National Geographic, and I complimented them on their recent two-part series on the Roman Empire. It's a fascinating story of how the Empire rose, how it sustained itself for hundreds of years, why it fell, and speculations on what, if any, relevance it might have to the United States and, indeed, the West.

And one of the gentlemen said, "Well, you know, we got a lot of interesting comments on that, including a letter referencing a statue we had of the bust of Emperor Vespasian. And one of our readers said, 'Why in the world did you put a statue of Gene Hackman in a piece on the Roman Empire?'" [*Laughter*] And I say that basically to say, in some senses, the more things change, the more they remain the same. [*Laughter*] For what sustains any civilization, and now what will sustain all of our civilizations, is the constant effort at renewal, the ability to avoid denial, and to proceed into the future in a way that is realistic and humane but resolute.

Six years ago tomorrow, not long after I started running for President, I went back to my alma mater at Georgetown and began a series of three speeches outlining my vision for America in the 21st century: How we

could keep the American dream alive for all of our people; how we could maintain America's leadership for peace and freedom and prosperity; and how we could come together, across the lines that divide us, as one America.

And together, we've made a lot of progress in the last nearly 5 years now that the Vice President and I have been privileged to work at this task. At the threshold of a new century, our economy is thriving, our social fabric is mending, we've helped to lead the world toward greater peace and cooperation.

I think this has happened, in no small measure, in part, because we had a different philosophy about the role of Government. Today, it is smaller and more focused and more oriented toward giving people the tools and the conditions they need to solve their own problems and toward working in partnership with our citizens. More important, I believe it's happened because we made tough choices but not false choices.

On the economy, we made the choice to balance the budget and to invest in our people and our future. On crime, we made the choice to be tough and smart about prevention and changing the conditions in which crime occurs. On welfare, we made the choice to require work but also to support the children of people who have been on welfare. On families, we made the choice to help parents find more and better jobs and to have the necessary time and resources for their children. And on the environment, we made the choice to clean our air, water, and land, to improve our food supply and to grow the economy.

This kind of commonsense approach, rooted in our most basic values and our enduring optimism about the capacity of free people to meet the challenges of every age, must be brought to bear on the work that remains to pave the way for our people and for the world toward a new century and a new millennium.

Today, we have a clear responsibility and a golden opportunity to conquer one of the most important challenges of the 21st century, the challenge of climate change, with an environmentally sound and economically strong strategy, to achieve meaningful reductions in greenhouse gases in the United

States and throughout the industrialized and the developing world. It is a strategy that, if properly implemented, will create a wealth of new opportunities for entrepreneurs at home, uphold our leadership abroad, and harness the power of free markets to free our planet from an unacceptable risk, a strategy as consistent with our commitment to reject false choices. America can stand up for our national interest and stand up for the common interest of the international community. America can build on prosperity today and ensure a healthy planet for our children tomorrow.

In so many ways the problem of climate change reflects the new realities of the new century. Many previous threats could be met within our own borders, but global warming requires an international solution. Many previous threats came from single enemies, but global warming derives from millions of sources. Many previous threats posed clear and present danger. Global warming is far more subtle, warning us not with roaring tanks or burning rivers but with invisible gases, slow changes in our surroundings, increasingly severe climatic disruptions that, thank God, have not yet hit home for most Americans. But make no mistake, the problem is real. And if we do not change our course now, the consequences sooner or later will be destructive for America and for the world.

The vast majority of the world's climate scientists have concluded that if the countries of the world do not work together to cut the emission of greenhouse gases, then temperatures will rise and will disrupt the climate. In fact, most scientists say the process has already begun. Disruptive weather events are increasing. Disease-bearing insects are moving to areas that used to be too cold for them. Average temperatures are rising. Glacial formations are receding.

Scientists don't yet know what the precise consequences will be. But we do know enough now to know that the industrial age has dramatically increased greenhouse gases in the atmosphere, where they take a century or more to dissipate, and that the process must be slowed, then stopped, then reduced if we want to continue our economic progress and preserve the quality of life in the United

States and throughout our planet. We know what we have to do.

Greenhouse gas emissions are caused mostly by the inefficient burning of coal or oil for energy. Roughly a third of these emissions come from industry, a third from transportation, a third from residential and commercial buildings. In each case, the conversion of fuel to energy use is extremely inefficient and could be made much cleaner with existing technologies or those already on the horizon, in ways that will not weaken the economy but in fact will add to our strength in new businesses and new jobs. If we do this properly, we will not jeopardize our prosperity, we will increase it.

With that principle in mind, I'm announcing the instruction I'm giving to our negotiators as they pursue a realistic and effective international climate change treaty. And I'm announcing a far-reaching proposal that provides flexible market-based and cost-effective ways to achieve meaningful reductions here in America. I want to emphasize that we cannot wait until the treaty is negotiated and ratified to act. The United States has less than 5 percent of the world's people, enjoys 22 percent of the world's wealth, but emits more than 25 percent of the world's greenhouse gases. We must begin now to take out our insurance policy on the future.

In the international climate negotiations, the United States will pursue a comprehensive framework that includes three elements, which, taken together, will enable us to build a strong and robust global agreement. First, the United States proposes at Kyoto that we commit to the binding and realistic target of returning to emissions of 1990 levels between 2008 and 2012. And we should not stop there. We should commit to reduce emissions below 1990 levels in the 5-year period thereafter, and we must work toward further reductions in the years ahead.

The industrialized nations tried to reduce emissions to 1990 levels once before with a voluntary approach, but regrettably, most of us, including especially the United States, fell short. We must find new resolve to achieve these reductions, and to do that we simply must commit to binding limits.

Second, we will embrace flexible mechanisms for meeting these limits. We propose

an innovative, joint implementation system that allows a firm in one country to invest in a project that reduces emissions in another country and receive credit for those reductions at home. And we propose an international system of emissions trading. These innovations will cut worldwide pollution, keep costs low, and help developing countries protect their environment, too, without sacrificing their economic growth.

Third, both industrialized and developing countries must participate in meeting the challenge of climate change. The industrialized world must lead, but developing countries also must be engaged. The United States will not assume binding obligations unless key developing nations meaningfully participate in this effort.

As President Carlos Menem stated forcefully last week when I visited him in Argentina, a global problem such as climate change requires a global answer. If the entire industrialized world reduces emissions over the next several decades but emissions from the developing world continue to grow at their current pace, concentrations of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere will continue to climb. Developing countries have an opportunity to chart a different energy future consistent with their growth potential and their legitimate economic aspirations. What Argentina, with dramatic projected economic growth, recognizes is true for other countries as well: We can and we must work together on this problem in a way that benefits us all.

Here at home, we must move forward by unleashing the full power of free markets and technological innovations to meet the challenge of climate change. I propose a sweeping plan to provide incentives and lift roadblocks to help our companies and our citizens find new and creative ways of reducing greenhouse gas emissions:

First, we must enact tax cuts and make research and development investments worth up to \$5 billion over the next 5 years, targeted incentives to encourage energy efficiency and the use of cleaner energy sources.

Second, we must urge companies to take early actions to reduce emissions by ensuring that they receive appropriate credit for showing the way.

Third, we must create a market system for reducing emissions wherever they can be achieved most inexpensively, here or abroad, a system that will draw on our successful experience with acid rain permit trading.

Fourth, we must reinvent how the Federal Government, the Nation's largest energy consumer, buys and uses energy. Through new technology, renewable energy resources, innovative partnerships with private firms, and assessments of greenhouse gas emissions from major Federal projects, the Federal Government will play an important role in helping our Nation to meet its goal. Today, as a downpayment on our million solar roof initiative, I commit the Federal Government to have 20,000 systems on Federal buildings by 2010.

Fifth, we must unleash competition in the electricity industry, to remove outdated regulations and save Americans billions of dollars. We must do it in a way that leads to even greater progress in cleaning our air and delivers a significant down payment in reducing greenhouse gas emissions. Today, two-thirds of the energy used to provide electricity is squandered in waste heat. We can do much, much better.

Sixth, we must continue to encourage key industry sectors to prepare their own greenhouse gas reduction plans. And we must, along with State and local government, remove the barriers to the most energy efficient usage possible. There are ways the Federal Government can help industry to achieve meaningful reductions voluntarily, and we will redouble our efforts to do so.

This plan is sensible and sound. Since it's a long-term problem requiring a long-term solution, it will be phased in over time. But we want to get moving now. We will start with our package of strong market incentives, tax cuts, and cooperative efforts with industry. We want to stimulate early action and encourage leadership. And as we reduce our emissions over the next decade with these efforts, we will perform regular reviews to see what works best for the environment, the economy, and our national security.

After we have accumulated a decade of experience, a decade of data, a decade of technological innovation, we will launch a broad emissions trading initiative to ensure

that we hit our binding targets. At that time, if there are dislocations caused by the changing patterns of energy use in America, we have a moral obligation to respond to those to help the workers and the enterprises affected, no less than we do today by any change in our economy which affects people through no fault of their own. This plan plays to our strengths: innovation, creativity, entrepreneurship. Our companies already are showing the way by developing tremendous environmental technologies and implementing commonsense conservation solutions.

Just yesterday Secretary Peña announced a dramatic breakthrough in fuel cell technology, funded by the Department of Energy research, a breakthrough that will clear the way toward developing cars that are twice as efficient as today's models and reduce pollution by 90 percent. The breakthrough was made possible by our pathbreaking partnership with the auto industry to create a new generation of vehicles. A different design, producing similar results, has been developed by a project funded by the Defense Advanced Research Products Agency and the Commerce Department's National Institute of Science and Technology.

The Energy Department discovery is amazing in what it does. Today, gasoline is used very inefficiently in internal combustion engines; about 80 percent of its energy capacity is lost. The DOE project announced yesterday by A.D. Little and Company uses 84 percent of the gasoline directly going into the fuel cell. That's increased efficiency of more than 4 times traditional engine usage.

And I might add, from the point of view of all the people that are involved in the present system, continuing to use gasoline means that you don't have to change any of the distribution systems that are out there. It's a very important, but by no means the only, discovery that's been made that points the way toward the future we have to embrace.

I also want to emphasize, however, that most of the technologies available for meeting this goal through market mechanisms are already out there—we simply have to take advantage of them. For example, in the town of West Branch, Iowa, a science teacher named Hector Ibarra challenged his sixth

graders to apply their classroom experiments to making their school more energy efficient. The class got a \$14,000 loan from a local bank and put in place easily available solutions. The students cut the energy use in their school by 70 percent. Their savings were so impressive that the bank decided to upgrade its own energy efficiency. [Laughter] Following the lead of these sixth graders—[laughter]—other major companies in America have shown similar results. You have only to look at the proven results achieved by companies like Southwire, Dow Chemical, DuPont, Kraft, Interface Carpetmakers, and any number of others in every sector of our economy to see what can be done.

Our industries have produced a large group of efficient new refrigerators, computers, washer/dryers, and other appliances that use far less energy, save money, and cut pollution. The revolution in lighting alone is truly amazing. One compact fluorescent lamp, used by one person over its lifetime, can save nearly a ton of carbon dioxide emissions from the atmosphere and save the consumer money.

If over the next 15 years everyone were to buy only those energy-efficient products marked in stores with EPA's distinctive "Energy Star" label, we could shrink our energy bills by a total of about \$100 billion over the next 15 years and dramatically cut greenhouse gas emissions.

Despite these win-win innovations and commitments that are emerging literally every day, I know full well that some will criticize our targets and timetables as too ambitious. And of course, others will say we haven't gone far enough. But before the debate begins in earnest, let's remember that over the past generation, we've produced tremendous environmental progress, including in the area of energy efficiency, at far less expense than anyone could have imagined. And in the process, whole new industries have been built.

In the past three decades, while our economy has grown, we have raised, not lowered, the standards for the water our children drink. While our factories have been expanding, we have required them to clean up their toxic waste. While we've had record numbers

of new homes, our refrigerators save more energy and more money for our consumers.

In 1970, when smog was choking our cities, the Federal Government proposed new standards for tailpipe emissions. Many environmental leaders claim the standards would do little to head off catastrophe. Industry experts predicted the cost of compliance would devastate the industry. It turned out both sides were wrong. Both underestimated the ingenuity of the American people. Auto makers comply with today's much stricter emissions standards for far less than half the cost predicted, and new cars emit on average only 5 percent of the pollutants of the cars built in 1970.

We've seen this pattern over and over and over again. We saw it when we joined together in the seventies to restrict the use of the carcinogen, vinyl chloride. Some in the plastics industry predicted massive bankruptcies, but chemists discovered more cost-effective substitutes and the industries thrived. We saw this when we phased out lead in gasoline. And we see it in our acid rain trading program—now 40 percent ahead of schedule—at costs less than 50 percent of even the most optimistic cost projections. We see it as the chlorofluorocarbons are being taken out of the atmosphere at virtually no cost in ways that apparently are beginning finally to show some thickening of the ozone layer again.

The lesson here is simple: Environmental initiatives, if sensibly designed, flexibly implemented, cost less than expected and provide unforeseen economic opportunities. So while we recognize that the challenge we take on today is larger than any environmental mission we have accepted in the past, climate change can bring us together around what America does best: We innovate; we compete; we find solutions to problems; and we do it in a way that promotes entrepreneurship and strengthens the American economy.

If we do it right, protecting the climate will yield not costs but profits; not burdens but benefits; not sacrifice but a higher standard of living. There is a huge body of business evidence now showing that energy savings gives better service at lower cost with higher profits. We have to tear down barriers to suc-

cessful markets, and we have to create incentives to enter them. I call on American business to lead the way, but I call upon government at every level, Federal, State, and local, to give business the tools they need to get the job done and also to set an example in all our operations.

And let us remember that the challenge we face today is not simply about targets and timetables. It's about our most fundamental values and our deepest obligations.

Later today, I'm going to have the honor of meeting with Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew I, the spiritual leader of 300 million Orthodox Christians, a man who has always stressed the deep obligations inherent in God's gift to the natural world. He reminds us that the first part of the word "ecology" derives from the Greek word for house. In his words, in order to change the behavior toward the house we all share, we must rediscover spiritual linkages that may have been lost and reassert human values. Of course, he is right. It is our solemn obligation to move forward with courage and foresight to pass our home on to our children and future generations.

I hope you believe with me that this is just another challenge in America's long history, one that we can meet in the way we have met all past challenges. I hope that you believe with me that the evidence is clear that we can do it in a way that grows the economy, not with denial but with a firm and glad embrace of yet another challenge of renewal. We should be glad that we are alive today to embrace this challenge, and we should do it secure in the knowledge that our children and grandchildren will thank us for the endeavor.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:57 p.m. in the Gilbert Grosvenor Auditorium. In his remarks, he referred to Reg Murphy, president and chief executive officer, National Geographic Society.

Executive Order 13065—Further Amendment to Executive Order 13038—Advisory Committee on Public Interest Obligations of Digital Television Broadcasters

October 22, 1997

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, and in order to add up to three more members to the Advisory Committee on Public Interest Obligations of Digital Television Broadcasters, it is hereby ordered that the second sentence of section 1 of Executive Order 13038, as amended by section 5 of Executive Order 13062, is further amended by deleting "not more than 22" and inserting "up to 25" in lieu thereof. Further, the words "or Co-Chairs" shall be added after the word "Chair" in the fourth sentence of section 1 of the order.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
October 22, 1997.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., October 23, 1997]

NOTE: This Executive order was published in the *Federal Register* on October 24.

Remarks During the Morning Session of the White House Conference on Child Care

October 23, 1997

[*The First Lady welcomed the conference participants, and a videotape was shown.*]

The President. Thank you very much. Welcome to the White House. Thank you very much, Kathy Carliner, for your remarkable statement. And I thought you were very good in the film. Rob Reiner wants to give you a screen test. [*Laughter*]

I am so happy to see all of you here. There are many people here who might well be introduced, but I think I must start with the

people who are terribly important to whether we will be able to fully achieve our part of the great agenda we are going to lay out today, the Members of Congress who are here. And I'd like to call their names and then, when I finish, ask them all to stand.

Senator Herb Kohl, who sponsored legislation on child care; Senator Jack Reed; Congressman Bill Clay; Congressman Sandy Levin; Congresswoman Rosa DeLauro; Congresswoman Lynn Woolsey; Congresswoman Sue Kelly; Congresswoman Maxine Waters; Congressman Xavier Becerra; and Congressman Nick Lampson. Would the Members of Congress who are here please stand? Thank you for coming.

I'd also like to thank my longtime friend—Hillary and I have been friends of Governor Jim Hunt and his wife, Carolyn, who are here, for almost 20 years now. And I think Governor Romer is here or on his way. Mayor Cleaver, we're glad to see you. And John Sweeney, the head of the AFL-CIO, and others who have come to be with us today, I thank you very much.

This is a happy day at the White House, first, for all the people in the administration and all those who have worked with them for months and months and months to help this day come to pass. And second, and even more important from my point of view, this is a happy day because I have been listening to the First Lady talk about this for more than 25 years now—[laughter]—and it may be that I will finally be able to participate in at least a small fraction of what I have been told for a long time I should be doing. And I say that in good humor but also with great seriousness.

This is an anniversary of sorts for me. It was 6 years ago today, as a newly announced candidate for President, that I went back to my alma mater at Georgetown and began a series of three speeches outlining what I thought America ought to look like in the 21st century and what I thought we would have to do to create a country in which everyone had an opportunity, everyone was expected to be a responsible citizen, and where we came together, across all the lines that divide us, into one community.

There are many things that are necessary for that to be done, but clearly two of them

are, first, people in this country have to be able to succeed at work and at home in raising their children. And if we put people in the position of essentially having to choose one over the other, our country is going to be profoundly weakened. Obviously, if people are worried sick about their children and they fail at work, it's not just individual firms, it's the economic fabric and strength of the country that is weakened. Far more important, if people fail at home, they have failed in our most important job and our most solemn responsibility.

Second, we'll never be the kind of country we ought to be unless we believe that every child counts and that every child ought to have a chance to make the most of his or her God-given abilities.

That's why we're here today, to examine where we are and what we still have to do. And what we still have to do is quite a lot, to make sure we live by what we believe when we say that all parents should be able to succeed at home and at work and that every child counts. No parent should ever had to choose between work and family, between earning a decent wage and caring for a child. Especially in this day and age when most parents work, nothing is more important, as you have just heard Kathy Carliner say, than finding child care that is affordable, accessible, and safe. It is America's next great frontier in strengthening our families and our future.

As the Catholic Conference has noted, no government can love a child and no policy can substitute for a family's care. But there is much that we can do to help parents do their duty to their children. From my days as Governor of Arkansas to my service as President, strengthening families has been a central goal of what I have worked on. I'm very proud that the first bill I had the opportunity to sign into law as President was the Family and Medical Leave Act, so that no parent has to choose between caring for a child or keeping a job when a family member is ill.

The expanded earned-income tax credit helps to ensure that parents who work don't have to raise their children in poverty. No one who is out there working full-time with children should have to worry about that. Ex-

panded Head Start programs are serving more families than ever before. We've collected record sums of child support enforcement. The historic balanced budget I signed this summer provides a \$500-per-child tax credit and helps parents to pay for their children's college education through IRA's, expanded loans and Pell grants, the HOPE scholarship, and other tax credits.

The Congress has before it now a program of Secretary Riley's called 21st Century Community Schools, in which we ask for funds to help our States keep our schools open after classroom hours for children who have no place else to go and need that environment.

We've also made some progress on child care. Since 1993, child care assistance has increased by 70 percent to help families pay for nearly a million children. Last year in the welfare reform debate, we fought and won the battle to expand child care assistance by \$4 billion over the next 6 years, giving States an unprecedented opportunity to lead, to innovate in efforts to make child care more affordable.

But we have to do more. With more families required to rely on two incomes to make ends meet, with more single-parent families than ever, more young children are left in the care of others even in their earliest years. And as the First Lady said, we learned at our Conference on Early Childhood and the Brain, that's when children develop or fail to develop capacities that will shape the entire rest of their lives. It's also true that more and more schoolchildren are returning to empty homes after school.

The first thing we have to do is to make it possible for parents to spend time with their children whenever possible. That's why I hope the Congress will vote to expand the family and medical leave law so that parents at least can take some time off for their children's medical appointments, teacher conferences, and other basic duties. And I support flex-time laws that will allow workers to choose between receiving overtime in pay or in time off with their families.

But during those times when children can't be with their parents, they must get care that keeps them safe and that helps them to learn and grow. As we all know, too often that isn't the case. Too often child care

is unaffordable, inaccessible, and sometimes even unsafe. The cost, as Hillary said, strains millions of family budgets. And government assistance meets just about a quarter of the need. Even for those who can afford it, sometimes good care is hard to find, as Kathy said in her remarks. Waiting lists sometimes takes months or years to move, forcing many parents to cobble together unstable arrangements.

The shortage of care puts older children at risk, as well. Five million of them between the ages of 5 and 14 are left to fend for themselves after school. And as they get older, that increases the chances that they'll be exposed to drugs, tobacco, and crime.

Finally, studies have shown that too many child care facilities are literally unsafe. The tragedies that have befallen families who depended on child care continue to make headlines all across our nation. This conference is an important step forward in addressing all these issues. What we learn today should spur us on to find ways to help parents, all parents, afford safe, affordable, high quality child care, whether it's at home, a child care center, or a neighbor's house.

In the coming months, our administration will develop a plan, to be unveiled at the next State of the Union, to improve access and affordability and to help to assure the safety of child care in America. In the meantime, I want to announce four specific things we can do right now.

First, I'm asking Congress to establish a new scholarship fund for child care providers. Too many caregivers don't have the training they need to provide the best possible care. Those who do have training are rarely compensated with higher wages. The scholarship program I propose will help students earn their degrees as long as they remain in the child care field for at least a year, and it will ensure that caregivers who complete their training will receive a bonus or a raise.

Second, we have to weed out the people who have no business taking care of our children in the first place. I am transmitting to Congress the "National Crime Prevention and Privacy Compact," which will make background checks on child care providers easier and more effective by eliminating

State barriers to sharing criminal histories for this specific purpose. I urge Congress to pass and States to ratify this legislation.

Third, I've asked Secretary Rubin to oversee a working group on child care, composed primarily of business leaders working with labor and community representatives, to find ways more businesses can provide child care or help their employees afford high quality child care. And again, I thank John Sweeney for his important support of this initiative. In some ways, the most gripping part of that film we saw was the father talking about how he was just consumed with worry at work. No parent should ever have to go through that.

Finally, we must use community service to strengthen and expand access to after-school programs. Today, the Corporation for National Service through its To Learn and Grow Initiative will pledge to help after-school programs all across our country to use volunteers to provide better care to children. It is releasing a how-to manual for groups who want to incorporate community service into after-school programs. And I think that, Secretary Riley, if we can win in our little budget battle here on the 21st Century Community Schools, then together, we can do some real good out there on this issue.

My friends, for centuries—over two now—the American dream has represented a compact that those who work hard and play by the rules should be able to build better lives for themselves and for their children. In this time and even more into the future, child care that is too expensive, unsafe, or unavailable will be a very stubborn obstacle to realizing that dream. So let us commit ourselves to clearing the obstacle, to helping parents fulfill their most sacred duty, to keeping the American dream alive for them and, most important, for their children.

Thank you very much.

[At this point, the First Lady opened the panel discussion. Ellen Galinsky, president and cofounder, Families and Work Institute, discussed the need to provide better quality child care as a choice for parents.]

The President. I'd like to ask one question. First of all, I can't help saying this—when I heard you say that warm and respon-

sive child care actually triggered a biochemical reaction that reduced stress—I wish we could have a center like that for the White House staff and the Congress staff. *[Laughter]* We may actually come up with a revolutionary new proposal here today. *[Laughter]*

Let me ask you a serious question. One of the things that I constantly try to deal with here, that I'm supersensitive to because I was a Governor for 12 years before I came here, is trying to determine who should do what—what we can do and make a difference, what we have to basically either exhort or incentivize or require some other people to do.

I was quite taken by the comment you made that only 36 hours of training of a child care worker can make a huge difference. I can't help thinking there probably are a lot of young, often single parents that might benefit from the same 36 hours of training. And I'm wondering how you think that issue ought to be dealt with. Should States basically upgrade their training standards and put funds into it? Should there be training centers established, more than are there now—even if everybody were required to do it, are there enough places that do the training in all States?

Talk a little bit about how we might set up an infrastructure and pattern of training to give—let's suppose we said within 2 years we wanted every child care provider, even people who do it out of their homes, wherever, to get the 36 hours of training, and we'd like it to be open, let's say, to low-income parents who are having their first child—how would we do such a thing?

[Ms. Galinsky discussed available resources and the level of interest in training.]

The President. But what percentage of the people who are now providing child care get that kind of training? That's the question I'm trying to get.

[Ms. Galinsky responded that in a recent study, few caregivers actually completed required training. The First Lady agreed that the child care licensing system compared poorly to that for other professions. The discussion then continued concerning care before and after school hours.]

The President. Thank you. I would just like to make a couple of observations. I thought what you said was terrific. First of all, until—the crime rate in America has been going down for 5 years now, rather steeply, but it's been going up among people under 18. It may have leveled off, may be dropping a little bit now; we're hopeful. But if it is, it's because more and more communities are doing what you suggested. We need another—at least another year to see whether it's changed.

You are very familiar with what's been done in Boston, and one of the things that's been done is the whole sort of juvenile justice system has been geared to be warm and responsive. Juvenile probation officers make house calls with police officers, and community groups walk the streets in the afternoon to, basically, almost pick the kids up and give them things to do and get them involved with things. And as far as I know, it's the only major city in America where nobody under 18 has been killed by a gun in 2 years now. But it's not rocket science. It's a systematic attempt to take personal responsibility for all these children after school. And I can tell you, if you see the flip side of it in these juvenile crime rates, it's really touching and quite moving.

The other thing I wanted to say is, I wondered if you had any sense, just as a practical matter, of whether these programs tend to work better if they are school-based. And the reason I ask that is, I think that we fight these battles around here all the time of how to spend the school money—and most money for schools comes from the State and local level anyway. But I think one of the biggest problems that these schools have on the issue you've talked about is that in school after school after school after school, financial problems have caused them to cut back on their art programs, cut back on their music programs, cut back on their nonvarsity athletic programs. The things that children used to typically do after school or could stay after school and do, these school districts, as they're now budgeting and as they're now staffed and under the rules under which they now labor, they cannot—more and more schools are dropping these programs. And I think it's disastrous, because a lot of it is just

exactly how children relate in a kind of a non-linear, just purely intellectual way that both of you have said is so important. And I was wondering if you've seen that and if you think that's contributing to the problem.

I mean, a lot of people, without any programs, used to just stay after school because there was an art project, there was a music project, you were getting ready for a concert, the intramural teams were playing. And this is—you know, there are huge school districts in this country where all of these things are a thing of the past. People look at you like you've lost your mind when you talk about this now; they haven't had these things in years.

And it may be that one of the things we ought to be exploring is whether we can reinstitute some of these things in the lives of our schools that would naturally lead to an out-of-school atmosphere so they wouldn't think about adopting a new program approach. Anyway, I just kind of wanted to ask you that: Are the schools the best place if they work, or does it not matter, if you do it right?

[Michelle Seligson, founder and director, National Institute on Out-of-School Time, responded that it was a community-by-community decision and then described the components of good after-school programs. The discussion then continued.]

The President. I have to excuse Secretary Rubin in a moment to return to his duties, but I wanted to make one point and ask one question. The point I want to make is, he tries real hard to put on that sort of cold shtick, you know, that this is just economics, but——

Secretary of the Treasury Robert Rubin. "Shtick" is an Arkansas term. [Laughter]

The President. I learned that from him, that word, you know. [Laughter] But I'm sure you could see there was more there.

It occurred to me, listening to you talk about this, that this child care issue is an example of what makes our work both wonderful and maddening. How many times have Secretary Riley and I said that every problem in American education has been solved by

somebody in some school somewhere, so why don't we get uniform excellence?

I just had the most difficult policy development process I have been through, I think, since I've been President, that Secretary Rubin and I did together. It was on trying to develop America's position on climate change. But it had very little to do with the science. There is literally enough technology out there today to enable us, without lowering our standing of living, indeed while raising our standard of living, to substantially cut our emissions of greenhouse gases. And I can cite you industry after industry after industry that's made a ton of money doing it on their own, so why doesn't everybody do it? Why don't we even have a critical mass of companies doing it? And I ask you that question.

So we've got another example here with child care. If you can cite these examples where all of these companies are making money and having happy, more productive employees, what are the barriers? Why is the market dysfunctional in cases like this, and what can we do to make it work? Because if we were trying to get hookups to the Internet, we'd have 100 percent penetration in one-tenth of the time it takes us to get 10 percent penetration for educational excellence, environmental conservation, or the spread of child care. What's the difference? [Laughter]

Secretary Rubin. Are you asking me? [Laughter]

The President. I think it's the single, most important question about social policy today. You and I think about this all the time, but I don't know what you think about this.

This is not in the notes, you know, he's not prepared to say this.

[Secretary Rubin suggested a peer group approach to identify and promote best practices to deal with such problems.]

The President. Thank you.

[The First Lady then continued the panel discussion on ensuring access to safe, affordable child care.]

The President. I was glad to hear what you said about not being able to sit still after 3 o'clock. I'm glad to know you've been sitting still before 3 o'clock. [Laughter] I didn't

know—I have never seen you still for 2 minutes in all of our acquaintance. This is amazing. [Laughter]

I don't think you can answer this now, but I think it's quite important that we be explicit about a dilemma that we will face as we move toward next year—the State of the Union, what our position ought to be. We all know that there will be, in the context of the budget agreement we just adopted, fierce competition for limited money. We're going to have some more money to put into this; we'll do the very best we can. It will be a priority, but still, it seems to me that there will be competition for what the best way the Federal Government can spend more money in child care is.

We could increase the tax credit to either make it more generous to people who get it now or move it up in the income limits. We could expand Head Start, particularly the Zero To Three program, where we've only got just a few thousand kids now—25,000 or something—and I think the early results are pretty promising. It's a terribly important initiative.

Or we could devise some way to help get these salaries up, which—you know, abysmal. When you were talking about the salaries, Hillary gave me a chart which showed that child care workers on the whole are better educated than the American work force and lower paid. So we keep saying we want all these people to come in and get more education and more training, and yet—and there are some cases where people don't have any education or training, but there are a lot of them that are quite well-educated that are working for ridiculously limited wages.

So what's your sense about how we ought to go about making that decision? And I'll just give a blanket invitation to the audience, too, that if you were in my position and you knew you couldn't do 100 percent of all these things, would you do a little bit of all of them, would you focus on one, would you focus on the other? And I invite you to make your views known to us, either today during the conference or in writing, because this will be a difficult thing. Congressman Lampson is still here; he's going to have to make a decision about how to vote on this stuff. And we will have to decide.

[Secretary of Health and Human Services Donna Shalala said that resources should be invested in quality, focusing on caregivers. The discussion then continued.]

The President. Well, thank you very much. I agree with the last thing you said for sure. *[Laughter]*

Let me say, the reason I wanted Governor Hunt to come here today, apart from our 20 years of friendship and my immense admiration for him, is that—if I could go back to the question I asked Secretary Rubin—the great trick we have with all great social questions in America is—that we know that Government can't solve alone, either because we don't have the resources or the capacity—is how to have grassroots, community-based partnerships that still, when the day is over, add up to a system that serves everybody instead of just makes nice, touching stories we can all tell each other at seminars till kingdom come.

And that is what they have done in North Carolina. They have kept the entrepreneurial spirit. They have the partnership. They've cobbled money together, from first one place, then another, and he's put a lot of new money in it, and because he has taken this initiative and set up a framework within which creativity and partnership can flourish, they have a system. And I still believe—I'll say it again—I think that is the great sort of challenge that America faces that goes across so many of our problems and plainly relates to this.

The only question I wanted to ask you about it that I would like you to specifically address is, do you have enough money to deal with the dilemma that raising quality standards must increase your cost to some extent, and does that price anybody out of it? And if not, why not?

[Gov. James B. Hunt of North Carolina stressed the need for additional State and Federal funding, as well as help from the business and nonprofit sectors.]

The President. You know, just one other thing I'd like to say that I think we ought to consider—this is a little thing, but you talked about the bully pulpit—I think a lot of people are just plain old-fashioned ignorant about what's involved in being an effec-

tive, successful child care worker—would be surprised at the average educational level of child care workers in America and the average pay. And I think that we ought—one of the things that we ought to do with this bully pulpit idea of yours is start trying to find ways that every community and every State can honor outstanding child care workers the same way we honor teachers today, or scientists or others, because I think that's terribly important. I just don't think society—I don't think they mean to devalue people in this work, I just think they don't know—most people.

[Governor Hunt agreed, noting that he held an awards banquet for child care workers in North Carolina last year.]

President Clinton. I don't think you can underestimate how important it is for people to say to other people that they matter. And if it matters in your personal life, it's got to matter in all these other areas, too. I think it's a big issue.

[The First Lady thanked Governor Hunt for his example, and continued the discussion.]

The President. Well, that is, I think, an extraordinary way to wrap up our morning session. I can't think of anything that could be added to what you said. But if you think about what all of our last speakers said, it amounts to a plea to us to do what we can to both increase the coherence and completeness of community-based action within a framework that creates a system that involves all our children.

And again, let me say to all of you involved in this work, I am profoundly grateful to you. I thank you for being here today. This has been an immensely enlightening day to me. I have been struggling to understand this issue, especially since one day several years ago—we all have our little epiphanies in life about these matters, but Hillary had been talking to me about child care for years, and one day when I was running for Governor, well over a decade ago—I used to make a habit in every election season of going to the earliest plant gate in my State, because the workers came to work between 4:30 and 5:30, and even the vote-hungriest politicians

wouldn't get up that early, so I always had them all to myself. [Laughter]

And I never will forget, one day I came home and I told Hillary, I said, "You won't believe what happened to me at a quarter to 5 this morning." It was a Campbell soup plant in North Arkansas, and this pickup truck rolled up. And as often happened, the husbands and wives—and one was taking the other to work, and they would come up in the dark and kiss each other good-bye. And so this pickup truck came up, and this lady leaned over and kissed her husband good-bye and opened the door. And the light came on, and inside were three children under the age of 5.

And so I went over and talked to the young man when his wife went into work at a quarter to 5. I said, "What are you doing with these kids? I mean, how do you do this?" He said, "Well, we've got to get them up every morning at a quarter to 4, and we dress them up." And he said, "I keep them as long as I can, but I have to be at work at 7. So I had to find somebody who would take care of them at 6:30." Three kids under five. But he said, "We've got three kids under 5. We both have to work."

Now, there are millions of stories like that. And they are no less gripping for the parents than those who don't have quite such strange circumstances. But it is inconceivable to me that we have had all of you wonderful people working at this and we've put all this money in it, and we still never developed a systematic approach or, in the words of Patty, a quilt that everybody can be a part of. And that, I think, we should all leave as our mission.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 10:15 a.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to working mother Kathy Carliner, who introduced the President; Gov. Roy Romer of Colorado; Mayor Emanuel Cleaver II of Kansas City, MO; John Sweeney, president, AFL-CIO, and Patty Siegel, executive director, California Child Care Resource and Referral Network.

Statement on the Death of Ann Devroy

October 23, 1997

Hillary and I were deeply saddened to learn that Ann Devroy, longtime White House correspondent for The Washington Post, passed away earlier today.

For more than a decade, no journalist dominated and defined the White House beat with the kind of skill, shrewd analysis, and gruff grace that Ann brought to her reporting. As the saying goes, she always knew how to afflict the comfortable—and she made more than one President squirm—but she did comfort the afflicted. When White Houses did not get a fair shake in the press, Ann would often be the first to set the record straight. And she always wrote and reported with the interests of her readers first in her heart, trying always to make the White House story easier for a citizen to grasp.

Her friends in the press, her friends here at the White House, and all those who admired her tough but fair reporting will join me and Hillary in extending to Mark, Sarah, and Ann's family our deepest condolences.

Statement on Signing the Second Continuing Resolution for Fiscal Year 1998

October 23, 1997

I am pleased to have signed into law today House Joint Resolution 97, the second short-term continuing resolution for fiscal year 1998.

The resolution provides 1998 appropriations for continuing projects and activities of the Federal Government through November 7, 1997, except those funded by the five bills that I have already signed into law.

I urge the Congress to approve the remaining 1998 spending bills that include the items contained in the Bipartisan Budget Agreement and to provide funding for other priority programs. To give the Congress time

to adopt such bills, I have approved this second continuing resolution.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
October 23, 1997.

NOTE: H.J. Res. 97, approved October 23, was assigned Public Law No. 105-64.

Proclamation 7044—United Nations Day, 1997

October 23, 1997

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

In April of 1945, representatives of 50 nations gathered in San Francisco for the United Nations Conference on International Organization. The leaders assembled for that historic meeting were not idle dreamers. They were experienced statesmen and hard realists, horrified by the staggering destruction and human misery wrought by two world wars, and convinced that the conduct of international affairs must change. The United Nations Charter that emerged from their deliberations was a document both wise and hopeful—wise in its recognition that lasting peace comes only with respect for the dignity and value of every human being, and hopeful in its determination to protect future generations from the affliction of war.

As with all human enterprises, the United Nations has had its share of failure and success in the 5 decades since its Charter was ratified. But no one can dispute that the U.N. has worked to make the world a better place. Human suffering knows no borders, and men and women of goodwill from nations across the globe have dedicated their skills and energy to U.N. programs committed to relieving such suffering. For half a century, the organizations and programs of the United Nations have fought hunger and disease, defended human rights, provided disaster relief, taught sustainable development, and cared for refugees.

The United Nations has also fulfilled its mission as a force for peace in the world. For 50 years, it has helped to avert another

world war and prevent nuclear holocaust. Today, it continues working to keep nations like El Salvador, Haiti, Cyprus, and Bosnia from further bloodshed. It serves as a voice for the international community in defining acceptable behavior and punishing those states that ignore the most basic global norms of conduct. And the United Nations has become a vital international crossroads, where men and women of every race, culture, religion, and ethnic background can come together to share their common hopes and dreams.

The leaders who gathered in San Francisco so many years ago would scarcely recognize our world today. For the first time in history, more than half the world's people freely choose their own governments. Free markets are expanding, bringing with them exciting opportunities for growth and prosperity. The satellite and the microchip have revolutionized human communication, changing forever the way we live and work and interact. In this new global community, the U.N. mission is as important as it was in the waning days of World War II—pursuing peace and security, promoting human rights, and striving to help move people from poverty to prosperity.

We in the United States must continue our efforts to help the United Nations rise to the challenges of our time. Thanks to an ongoing reform process, we have seen substantial improvements in management, administrative accountability, and the setting of priorities by the U.N. This progress has set the stage for broader efforts to ensure that the United Nations is fully prepared to continue to pursue the goals laid down in its Charter.

As we observe United Nations Day this year, let us remember all those whose foresight and determination created this great international institution, and let us thank all those who, with courage and conviction, continue to fulfill its vital missions.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim Friday, October 24, 1997, as United Nations Day. I encourage all Americans to acquaint themselves with the activities and accomplishments of the

United Nations, and to observe this day with appropriate ceremonies, programs, and activities furthering the goal of international cooperation.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-third day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-second.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11 a.m., October 24, 1997]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on October 27.

Remarks to the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards Honoring Board-Certified Master Teachers

October 24, 1997

Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen. I have to say the Vice President always says when—we have this arrangement, he always says, thank you for the standing ovation. [Laughter] I'd also like to thank the United States Marine Band for being here for us today. I know you enjoyed them very much. You know, when I have to leave this job, in 3 years and a couple of months, I'll miss a lot of things about Washington and the White House—a few things I won't. [Laughter] But I'll really miss the Marine Band. It's a great honor to be around them every day. They're terrific.

I want to thank Rebecca Palacios for her introduction and for her lifetime of dedication. We wanted her up here because she stands for all of you. And she first came to my attention when she spoke at Al Shanker's memorial service, and I know that a lot of you feel as I do. I wish he were here today. He'd be tickled to see this crowd and the progress of this endeavor.

I'd like to thank Congressman Bob Etheridge and our good friend, Senator Jim Jeffords from Vermont for being here and for the support we have received in the Congress with the leadership that they have given, and others, to this endeavor. I thank

Secretary Riley. You know, I got a little nostalgic when Dick Riley was up here talking—Governor Hunt and Governor Riley and Governor Clinton—we've been at this since the 1970's. And none of us are very young anymore, and we're a little beat up, but it's been, I must say, one of the great treasures of my life to be friends with these two great leaders, to get to know their wives and their families, and to feel like we were giving a lifetime to this endeavor of advancing education. And I agree with Jim Hunt, Dick Riley is the best Secretary of Education we've ever had, and I thank him for that.

Governor Hunt, I thank you for your leadership yesterday at the first-ever White House Conference on Child Care that Hillary and I sponsored, and I thank you for what you're doing in North Carolina to get a systematic approach to giving all of our children in their preschool years the best preparation and support they can have. I thank you for 10 years at the helm of this extraordinary organization. Because of the work that you and the national board, with support from the business community and from States all across America, have done, more teachers are now being challenged to fulfill their greatest potential, and just as important, they're finally being rewarded for doing so. And I thank you for that.

And thank you, Barbara Kelley, for stepping in to fill Governor Hunt's shoes. You've worked tirelessly to improve education in Maine, and you've served the board well as vice chair. And I must say, you've got quite a crowd up for your first day on the job here. Congratulations. I'd also like to thank James Kelly and Sarah Mernissi for their leadership on the board.

Ladies and gentlemen, I'd like to take just a couple of minutes and try to put what you're doing here in this truly historic endeavor into the larger context of the journey that your Nation is on. Six years ago this month, when I began to seek the Presidency, I did it because I thought we had to change course, become more focused, more united, and more energetic if we were going to succeed in preparing America for the 21st century. And I had a simple but, I think, quite profound vision of what I wanted our country to be like when we crossed that next divide.

With all of our challenges, all of our difficulties, and all of our diversity, I want this to be a country where the American dream is alive for everybody who is responsible enough to work for it. I want America to still be the world's leading force for peace and freedom and prosperity. And I want us to be able to reach across all the lines that divide us to make one America.

Together, we've made a lot of progress: The economy is growing; crime is down; the social fabric is mending. That happened in no small part, I think, because we underwent as a nation our own educational process. We had to think anew and learn anew about what the role of Government is and what we ought to be doing in all of these areas that are important to us.

I had listened for years as a Governor to a debate here about whether the Government should do nothing or try to everything, neither of which made any sense to me in my own life. So we've given America a smaller and more focused Government that focuses on giving people the tools and creating the conditions to make the most of their own lives.

I also believe that we had to go beyond a lot of other kind of false choices. In the economy, the argument used to be, "Are we going to do something about the deficit, in which case we won't do anything else, or are we going to just keep spending and betray the future of all the children in the audience?" We have shown that you can reduce the deficit and balance the budget and still invest in America's children and its future, and that is the right approach. *[Applause]* Thank you.

On the environment, the debate was, "Well, if we clean up the environment, we'll wreck the economy," in spite of the fact that that contradicted all our experiences. So we have energetically embraced the proposition that we have to dramatically improve the environment, dramatically reduce our greenhouse gases, and we're going to do it and grow the economy. When you start new things in an innovative way, you create more jobs and more opportunities. Doing the right thing is normally something that benefits you, economically, and it will here as well.

On crime, I thought there was a totally false debate about people who talked tough on the one hand, and people who were genuinely compassionate about the circumstances that bred crime on the other. I thought we ought to be both tough and compassionate in trying to prevent people from getting into trouble in the first place. And that approach is working and the crime rate is dropping.

On welfare there was a debate which basically treated everybody on welfare on the one hand as if they never wanted to go to work and say we ought to impose a lot of requirements on them, and other people who were genuinely concerned about the welfare of children of people on welfare but never wanted to hold them to higher standards. So we took an approach to welfare reform that required everybody to work who can but take care of the children. That's our most important job. And in the process our country has learned and grown and gained self-confidence, just the way your students do in the class.

And we are still engaged in this debate here in Washington about education. You know, there are those who say that the Federal Government should do next to nothing in education and that basically it should be left alone. Or some people think it should be abandoned altogether. I believe that we have to go beyond either giving up on the one hand or giving more money to the status quo on the other. None of you represent the status quo. You represent standards, reform, and investment. That is the proper path for education in the future and every area.

I know we've been saying this all our lives, but it is really true that the greatest challenge America faces to realizing our entire vision is the challenge of giving every child in this country a world-class education. If we don't do it, how can we preserve the American dream for people who are responsible enough to work for it? There are a lot of people today in America—every day I think about all the people out there who are willing to work, are willing to work harder, who are trapped in circumstances that they find totally unsatisfactory, that are difficult for their children, simply because they never got a good education to develop their abilities.

How can we lead the world toward peace and freedom and prosperity if we are weak at home because we don't have strength in the minds and hearts and spirits and the self-confidence of all of our people? How can we have enough sense to overcome all of our diversity and be one America, at a time when racial and ethnic and religious tensions are causing people to kill each other all over the world if we don't have the education that makes us understand that deep down inside what we have in common will always be more important than the things that divide us? You are carrying us into the future.

Now, therefore, in a very fundamental sense, you are at the center of America's mission to the 21st century. And you know some things that sometimes it seems like we forget here in Washington when you hear these debates: Meeting the challenge will not be easy. There is no quick fix. There is no single proposal that will magically give all our children the education that they need and deserve.

I might say that I do not believe that a proposal that takes resources away from public schools, most of which are already underfunded, will do anything for the 90 percent of the children who are going to remain there. But I would also say, we make a great mistake when we stop at the denial. We cannot afford to be in denial. What's that story all the children say? "Denial is not just a river in Egypt." [Laughter] We know, and you have proved by what you have done, that we all have to be impatient. If you believe in the education of all children, if you believe in the potential of the public schools, we have to be impatient and focused and determined and willing not just to settle for isolated successes but to do systematic things.

That is the genius of the national board. I think, of all the many contributions Jim Hunt has made to our public life, when his whole career is over, two will stand out: the work he's done on this board, and the work he's done in North Carolina to take a systematic approach to all children between birth and age 5 to get them ready to go to school.

We must be impatient. We have to change the system for everyone. It's got to work for everyone. Isolated examples of success are not enough. Therefore, we have to fight to raise standards for students and teachers. We

ought to give more choice and competition among public schools. We ought to equip all of our schools with the latest technology and people who know how to use it. [Laughter]

We ought to empower our parents to take a more active role in their children's education. We ought to recognize that people can't succeed in school unless our schools, all of them, are safe and disciplined and drug-free. We have to do more to bring high-quality teachers to difficult, underserved, poor areas, where the children need them the most. We ought to make it easier for all schools to reform, to be less bureaucratic. If people aren't performing, it ought to be easier for them to be moved out. But the most important thing we can do is to train and reward the finest teachers in America, to get them and keep them in the classroom.

So that debate is going on here now, and we face a choice. There are those of us, like Governor Hunt and our master teachers, who are doing all they can to sustain and improve and strengthen public education in America. And there are those whose answer is to do nothing or, worse, to walk away. It's a choice between those who look at the challenge of public education and throw up their hands and those who, like you, roll up their sleeves.

I have called upon all of our people to create an America in which every 8-year-old can read, every 12-year-old can log on to the Internet, every 18-year-old can go to college, and every American can keep on learning for lifetime.

Let us say one thing here for the record. You and people like you all over the country have been working on this for more than a decade, and our schools—against all odds and great challenges, our schools are getting better. Everybody should know that. They are getting better. We are taking in ever more diverse student populations. We are learning more about how to deal with each other, and we are getting better results. Secretary Riley mentioned North Carolina's results. We are getting better results, but only when we are impatient, focused, determined, relentless, and systematic in our approach.

The balanced budget I signed last summer will help us to do this. It will throw open the doors of college to everybody who is will-

ing to work for it through more Pell grants, 300,000 more work-study slots, education IRA's, the historic HOPE scholarship for the first 2 years of college, and other tax credits for all higher education. The budget goes a long way toward completing our mission to connect every classroom and library to the Internet by the year 2000, which I think we're going to meet. And I thank you.

We're fighting to fully fund America Reads, which has already involved AmeriCorps volunteers, tens of thousands of college students from 800 campuses now, many other people in churches and other volunteer groups going into our schools to help tutor individually young children. And Congress has taken the first step toward funding that, and I appreciate that.

But all these things will mean little unless the classroom works. Ultimately, the magic of education is what goes on in the class, between the teachers and the students, hopefully, supported at home by the parents. That's why we have to set high national standards of academic excellence. That's why I'm fighting for these fourth grade reading and eighth grade math tests. And I thank Governor Hunt and the other States and cities who have supported it.

Through voluntary national standards, parents and teachers can make sure that all their children in all of our schools get the skills they need. I thank Governor Hunt again for his leadership here, and I hope he can have even more members of the National Governors' Association following the lead of the heads of the biggest school districts in the country and many city governments all across the country who are doing this.

Again I will say that if there is any attempt in Congress to kill this effort at national standards and voluntary testing, I will have to veto it.

So this is the context in which your efforts are working, and we have to see it against that. It is the great frontier of our national effort to come to grips with all the challenges we face to get this country into the 21st century in the shape that we all know it must be in. Raising the quality of teaching has to come at the top of the list.

We all know a single, extraordinary teacher can change the lives of many students. We

all know we should reward excellence in teaching. Now we know that national board certification defines excellence in teaching. That's why I've asked the Congress for \$105 million over the next 5 years to help us get 100,000 board-certified master teachers.

Now, just think of the difference a master teacher could make if we had a master teacher in every single school in America. All of you know that one of the things teachers do a good job of is talking. [*Laughter*] In the classroom, in the teachers' lounge, in the halls, before and after school, you talk for a living, and you're good at it. If we could get at least one master teacher in every single school building in America, then all the process through which you go, you will be, without even thinking about it and sometimes consciously, imparting to the other teachers, to the principals, changing the culture of our schools in ways that no one could write out a form book and predict. But we know, if we can get enough of these master teachers, we will have a critical mass that will then impact on all the other teachers, on the teaching environment, and therefore, on the learning of all of our children.

That is why I asked for the \$100 million. That's why I want 100,000 board teachers. I do not want to stop until we've got a master teacher in every single school building in the United States of America—eventually, I hope, in every classroom—but every school building. We should not stop until we do that.

That's the sort of thing that Jim Hunt has visualized all this time, a system—not isolated successes, a system—where we give our teachers, our schools, our children a chance to be the best they can be. That is what we have to do, and that is our mission. And that's why we've got to get this through the Congress and why I'm so glad to see Senator Jeffords here. And I know that he stands for a lot of other people who will do it.

I must say, when Congressman Etheridge gave up being head of the North Carolina education effort to come to Congress, he didn't really do that—he's basically got two jobs in one—and I think he's going to ask Governor Hunt for a second salary to support it. [*Laughter*]

Now, let me also say to you that you're getting a lot more support around the country now in local school districts and in businesses who are stepping up to the challenge. Last month, the Los Angeles Unified School District and the United Teachers of Los Angeles agreed to reward board-certified teachers with a 15 percent raise. You know, one of Clinton's laws of politics is when someone—people always say in Washington, "That's not a money problem." When they say that, they're talking about someone else's problem. *[Laughter]* It does matter. We must pay people more if they're doing well, if they're better prepared, and if they're willing to stand out and stake out a new frontier, and it's important.

Just a few days ago the McGraw-Hill company joined forces with the New York City Board of Education and the United Federation of Teachers there, along with New York universities to prepare more teachers for board certification. These things are crucial to our success. We can appropriate the money here. We can help you implement it. But we've got to have friends out there who believe in it and then people who will reward the teachers once they get the certification. So I want every State, every school board, every business to help more of our teachers become master teachers.

As the national board continues to define what teachers should know and be able to do, I also hope you will make even more use of effective technology. Every teacher should be as comfortable with a computer as a chalkboard. You should not be as technologically challenged as I am. *[Laughter]*

And finally, let me say I think we have to do more to attract more young people into teaching as a career, particularly where the kids need it the most. I have called upon Congress to support a \$350-million scholarship program modeled on the National Medical Service Corps. Those of us who come from rural States can all remember how blessed our rural communities have been over the last several years, the last couple of decades, by the doctors who were educated in medical school with the National Medical Service Corps and then went out to some place where people had never seen a doctor for years or where the town doctor

had died and no other young people would go and how many people were helped by that. We need to do that for our inner-city schools, for our rural schools, for our poorest children.

This proposal would basically give a talented young person an education in exchange for a promise to teach children growing up in our most underprivileged communities. It will strengthen teacher training in colleges that work directly with inner cities and with poor rural schools. It is a good idea, and I hope you will help me pass it, because the kids out there who have the toughest neighborhoods to live in and the toughest obstacles to overcome and the parents in the most difficult circumstances, they need the best teachers. They need them, and we ought to try to help them get them.

And finally let me say just a simple thank you for making a decision to spend your lives on the future. If you really think about it, most of us do things every day where, at the end of the day, we can know that the major impact of what we've done comes more or less right after we do it. The major impact of what you do will come perhaps after we're not even around anymore. You literally live your lives based on a faith in the innate dignity and potential of every child that you may never see realized. They may go off to some far, distant place and do something, and the connection will be broken. But you know what you're doing is renewing this country in a constant and profound way. And I think you for that.

Henry Adams once said that, "Our teachers affect eternity. They can never tell where their influence stops." You will never know where your influence stops, but I can tell you, you will know that it always begins here in Washington as long as Dick Riley and Jim Hunt and Bill Clinton and the people that agree with us have a job to do—*[laughter]*—have a job to do and the energy to do it.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:40 a.m. in a pavilion on the South Lawn at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Rebecca Palacios, a board-certified master teacher, who introduced the President; Gov. James B. Hunt, Jr., of North Carolina; Barbara Kelley, chair, James A. Kelly, president and chief executive officer, and Sarah

"Sally" Mernissi, vice president for government relations, National Board for Professional Teaching Standards.

Remarks to the Asia Society and the United States-China Education Foundation Board

October 24, 1997

Thank you very much, Ambassador Platt. I thank the Asia Society and the U.S.-China Education Foundation for bringing us together today. I thank Senator Baucus and Congressmen Dreier, Matsui, and Roemer for being here; Secretary Albright, Ambassador Barshefsky, National Security Advisor Berger, the other distinguished officials from the State Department. And I thank especially the members of the diplomatic corps who are here, and the students. And especially let me thank two of my favorite people, Joe Duffey and Evelyn Lieberman, for the work of the Voice of America and the USIA, all that they do to promote the free flow of ideas around the world.

Next week, when President Jiang Zemin comes to Washington, it will be the first state visit by a Chinese leader to the United States for more than a decade. The visit gives us the opportunity and the responsibility to chart a course for the future that is more positive and more stable and, hopefully, more productive than our relations have been for the last few years.

China is a great country with a rich and proud history and a strong future. It will, for good or ill, play a very large role in shaping the 21st century in which the children in this audience today, children all across our country, all across China, and indeed all across the world, will live.

At the dawn of the new century, China stands at a crossroads. The direction China takes toward cooperation or conflict will profoundly affect Asia, America, and the world for decades. The emergence of a China as a power that is stable, open, and nonaggressive, that embraces free markets, political pluralism, and the rule of law, that works with us to build a secure international order, that kind of China, rather than a China turned inward and confrontational, is deeply in the interests of the American people.

Of course, China will choose its own destiny. Yet by working with China and expanding areas of cooperation, dealing forthrightly with our differences, we can advance fundamental American interests and values.

First, the United States has a profound interest in promoting a peaceful, prosperous, and stable world. Our task will be much easier if China is a part of that process, not only playing by the rules of international behavior but helping to write and enforce them.

China is a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council. Its support was crucial for peacekeeping efforts in Cambodia and building international mandates to reverse Iraq's aggression against Kuwait and restore democracy to Haiti. As a neighbor of India and Pakistan, China will influence whether these great democracies move toward responsible cooperation both with each other and with China.

From the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea, China's need for a reliable and efficient supply of energy to fuel its growth can make it a force for stability in these strategically critical regions. Next week, President Jiang and I will discuss our visions of the future and the kind of strategic relationship we must have to promote cooperation, not conflict.

Second, the United States has a profound interest in peace and stability in Asia. Three times this century, Americans have fought and died in Asian wars—37,000 Americans still patrol the cold war's last frontier, on the Korean DMZ. Territorial disputes that could flare into crises affecting America require us to maintain a strong American security presence in Asia. We want China to be a powerful force for security and cooperation there.

China has helped us convince North Korea to freeze and ultimately end its dangerous nuclear program. Just imagine how much more dangerous that volatile peninsula would be today if North Korea, reeling from food shortages, with a million soldiers encamped 27 miles from Seoul, had continued this nuclear program.

China also agreed to take part in the four-party peace talks that President Kim and I proposed with North Korea, the only realistic

avenue to a lasting peace. And China is playing an increasingly constructive role in Southeast Asia by working with us and the members of ASEAN to advance our shared interests in economic and political security.

Next week I'll discuss with President Jiang the steps we can take together to advance the peace process in Korea. We'll look at ways to strengthen our military-to-military contacts, decreasing the chances of miscalculation and broadening America's contacts with the next generation of China's military leaders. And I will reiterate to President Jiang America's continuing support for our one China policy, which has allowed democracy to flourish in Taiwan and Taiwan's relationship with the PRC to grow more stable and prosperous. The Taiwan question can only be settled by the Chinese themselves peacefully.

Third, the United States has a profound interest in keeping weapons of mass destruction and other sophisticated weaponry out of unstable regions and away from rogue states and terrorists. In the 21st century, many of the threats to our security will come not from great power conflict but from states that defy the international community and violent groups seeking to undermine peace, stability, and democracy. China is already a nuclear power with increasingly sophisticated industrial and technological capabilities. We need its help to prevent dangerous weapons from falling into the wrong hands.

For years, China stood outside the major international arms control regimes. Over the past decade, it has made important and welcome decisions to join the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the Chemical Weapons Convention, the Biological Weapons Convention, and to respect key provisions of the Missile Technology Control Regime. Last year at the United Nations, I was proud to be the first world leader to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. China's Foreign Minister was the second leader to do so.

China has lived up to its pledge not to assist unsafeguarded nuclear facilities in third countries, and it is developing a system of export controls to prevent the transfer or sale of technology for weapons of mass destruction.

But China still maintains some troubling weapons supply relationships. At the summit, I will discuss with President Jiang further steps we hope China will take to end or limit some of these supply relationships and to strengthen and broaden its export control system. And I will make the case to him that these steps are, first and foremost, in China's interest, because the spread of dangerous weapons and technology would increase instability near China's own borders.

Fourth, the United States has profound interest in fighting drug-trafficking and international organized crime. Increasingly, smugglers and criminals are taking advantage of China's vast territory and its borders with 15 nations to move drugs and weapons, aliens, and the proceeds of illegal activities from one point in Asia to another or from Asia to Europe.

China and the United States already are cooperating closely on alien smuggling, and China has taken a tough line against narco-trafficking, a threat to its children as well as our own. Next week I will propose to President Jiang that our law enforcement communities intensify their efforts together.

Fifth, the United States has a profound interest in making global trade and investment as free, fair, and open as possible. Over the past 5 years, trade has produced more than one-third of America's economic growth. If we are to continue generating good jobs and higher incomes in our country when we are just 4 percent of the world's population, we must continue to sell more to the other 96 percent. One of the best ways to do that is to bring China more fully into the world's trading system. With a quarter of the world's population and its fastest growing economy, China could and should be a magnet for our goods and services.

Even though American exports to China now are at an all-time high, so, too, is our trade deficit. In part, this is due to the strength of the American economy and to the fact that many products we used to buy in other Asian countries now are manufactured in China. But clearly, an important part of the problem remains lack of access to China's markets. We strongly support China's admission into the World Trade Organization. But in turn, China must dramatically improve ac-

cess for foreign goods and services. We should be able to compete fully and fairly in China's marketplace, just as China competes in our own.

Tearing down trade barriers also is good for China and for the growth of China's neighbors and, therefore, for the stability and future of Asia. Next week, President Jiang and I will discuss steps China must take to join the WTO and assume its rightful place in the world economy.

Finally, the United States has a profound interest in ensuring that today's progress does not come at tomorrow's expense. Greenhouse gas emissions are leading to climate change. China is the fastest growing contributor to greenhouse gas emissions, and we are the biggest greenhouse gas emitter. Soon, however, China will overtake the United States and become the largest contributor. Already, pollution has made respiratory disease the number one health problem for China's people. Last March, when he visited China, Vice President Gore launched a joint forum with the Chinese on the environment and development so that we can work with China to pursue growth and protect the environment at the same time.

China has taken some important steps to deal with its need for more energy and cleaner air. Next week, President Jiang and I will talk about the next steps China can take to combat climate change. It is a global problem that must have a global solution that cannot come without China's participation as well. We also will talk about what American companies and technology can do to support China in its efforts to reduce air pollution and increase clean energy production.

Progress in each of these areas will draw China into the institutions and arrangements that are setting the ground rules for the 21st century, the security partnerships, the open trade arrangements, the arms control regime, the multinational coalitions against terrorism, crime, and drugs, the commitments to preserve the environment and to uphold human rights. This is our best hope, to secure our own interests and values and to advance China's in the historic transformation that began 25 years ago when China reopened to the world.

As we all know, the transformation already has produced truly impressive results. Twenty-five years ago, China stood apart from and closed to the international community. Now, China is a member of more than 1,000 international organizations, from the International Civil Aviation Organization to the International Fund for Agricultural Development. It has moved from the 22d largest trading nation to the 11th. It is projected to become the second largest trader, after the United States, by 2020. And today, 40,000 young Chinese are studying here in the United States, with hundreds of thousands more living and learning in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

China's economic transformation has been even more radical. Market reforms have spurred more than two decades of unprecedented growth, and the decision at the recently ended 15th Party Congress to sell off most all of China's big, state-owned industries promises to keep China moving toward a market economy. The number of people living in poverty has dropped from 250 million to 58 million, even as China's population has increased by nearly 350 million. Per capital income in the cities has jumped 550 percent in just the past decade.

As China has opened its economy, its people have enjoyed greater freedom of movement and choice of employment, better schools and housing. Today, most Chinese enjoy a higher standard of living than at any time in China's modern history. But as China has opened economically, political reform has lagged behind.

Frustration in the West turned into condemnation after the terrible events in Tiananmen Square. Now, nearly a decade later, one of the great questions before the community of democracies is how to pursue the broad and complex range of our interests with China while urging and supporting China to move politically as well as economically into the 21st century. The great question for China is how to preserve stability, promote growth, and increase its influence in the world, while making room for the debate and the dissent that are a part of the fabric of all truly free and vibrant societies. The answer to those questions must begin

with an understanding of the crossroads China has reached.

As China discards its old economic order, the scope and sweep of change has rekindled historic fears of chaos and disintegration. In return, Chinese leaders have worked hard to mobilize support, legitimize power, and hold the country together, which they see is essential to restoring the greatness of their nation and its rightful influence in the world. In the process, however, they have stifled political dissent to a degree and in ways that we believe are fundamentally wrong, even as freedom from want, freedom of movement, and local elections have increased.

This approach has caused problems within China and in its relationship to the United States. Chinese leaders believe it is necessary to hold the nation together, to keep it growing, to keep moving toward its destiny. But it will become increasingly difficult to maintain the closed political system in an ever-more open economy and society.

China's economic growth has made it more and more dependent on the outside world for investment, markets, and energy. Last year it was the second largest recipient of foreign direct investment in the world. These linkages bring with them powerful forces for change. Computers and the Internet, fax machines and photocopiers, modems and satellites all increase the exposure to people, ideas, and the world beyond China's borders. The effect is only just beginning to be felt.

Today more than a billion Chinese have access to television, up from just 10 million two decades ago. Satellite dishes dot the landscape. They receive dozens of outside channels, including Chinese language services of CNN, Star TV, and Worldnet. Talk radio is increasingly popular and relatively unregulated in China's 1,000 radio stations. And 70 percent of China's students regularly listen to the Voice of America.

China's 2,200 newspapers, up from just 42 three decades ago, and more than 7,000 magazines and journals are more open in content. A decade ago, there were 50,000 mobile phones in China; now there are more than 7 million. The Internet already has 150,000 accounts in China, with more than a million expected to be on-line by the year 2000. The

more ideas and information spread, the more people will expect to think for themselves, express their own opinions, and participate. And the more that happens, the harder it will be for their government to stand in their way.

Indeed, greater openness is profoundly in China's own interest. If welcomed, it will speed economic growth, enhance the world influence of China, and stabilize society. Without the full freedom to think, question, to create, China will be at a distinct disadvantage, competing with fully open societies in the information age where the greatest source of national wealth is what resides in the human mind.

China's creative potential is truly staggering. The largest population in the world is not yet among its top 15 patent powers. In an era where these human resources are what really matters, a country that holds its people back cannot achieve its full potential.

Our belief that, over time, growing interdependence would have a liberalizing effect in China does not mean in the meantime we should or we can ignore abuses in China of human rights or religious freedom. Nor does it mean that there is nothing we can do to speed the process of liberalization.

Americans share a fundamental conviction that people everywhere have the right to be treated with dignity, to give voice to their opinion, to choose their own leaders, to worship as they please. From Poland to South Africa, from Haiti to the Philippines, the democratic saga of the last decade proves that these are not American rights or Western rights or developed world rights, they are the birthrights of every human being enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Those who fight for human rights and against religious persecution, at the risk of their jobs, their freedom, even their lives, find strength through knowledge that they are not alone, that the community of democracies stands with them. The United States, therefore, must and will continue to stand up for human rights, to speak out against their abuse in China or anywhere else in the world. To do otherwise would run counter to everything we stand for as Americans.

Over the past year, our State Department's annual human rights report again pulled no punches on China. We cosponsored a resolution critical of China's human rights record in Geneva, even though many of our allies had abandoned the effort. We continue to speak against the arrest of dissidents and for a resumed dialog with the Dalai Lama, on behalf of the people and the distinct culture and unique identity of the people of Tibet, not their political independence but their uniqueness.

We established Radio Free Asia. We are working with Congress to expand its broadcast and to support civil society and the rule of law programs in China. We continue to pursue the problem of prison labor, and we regularly raise human rights in all our high-level meetings with the Chinese.

We do this in the hope of a dialog. And in dialog we must also admit that we in America are not blameless in our social fabric: Our crime rate is too high; too many of our children are still killed with guns; too many of our streets are still riddled with drugs. We have things to learn from other societies as well and problems we have to solve. And if we expect other people to listen to us about the problems they have, we must be prepared to listen to them about the problems we have.

This pragmatic policy of engagement, of expanding our areas of cooperation with China while confronting our differences openly and respectfully, this is the best way to advance our fundamental interests and our values and to promote a more open and free China.

I know there are those who disagree. They insist that China's interests and America's are inexorably in conflict. They do not believe the Chinese system will continue to evolve in a way that elevates not only human material condition but the human spirit. They, therefore, believe we should be working harder to contain or even to confront China before it becomes even stronger.

I believe this view is wrong. Isolation of China is unworkable, counterproductive, and potentially dangerous. Military, political, and economic measures to do such a thing would find little support among our allies around the world and, more importantly, even

among Chinese themselves working for greater liberty. Isolation would encourage the Chinese to become hostile and to adopt policies of conflict with our own interests and values. It will eliminate, not facilitate, cooperation on weapons proliferation. It would hinder, not help, our efforts to foster stability in Asia. It would exacerbate, not ameliorate, the plight of dissidents. It would close off, not open up, one of the world's most important markets. It would make China less, not more, likely to play by the rules of international conduct and to be a part of an emerging international consensus.

As always, America must be prepared to live and flourish in a world in which we are at odds with China. But that is not the world we want. Our objective is not containment and conflict. It is cooperation. We will far better serve our interests and our principles if we work with a China that shares that objective with us.

Thirty years ago, President Richard Nixon, then a citizen campaigning for the job I now hold, called for a strategic change in our policy toward China. Taking the long view, he said, we simply cannot afford to leave China forever outside the family of nations. There is no place on this small planet for a billion of its potentially most able people to live in angry isolation.

Almost two decades ago, President Carter normalized relations with China, recognizing the wisdom of that statement. And over the past two and a half decades, as China has emerged from isolation, tensions with the West have decreased; cooperation has increased; prosperity has spread to more of China's people. The progress was a result of China's decision to play a more constructive role in the world and to open its economy. It was supported by a farsighted American policy that made clear to China we welcome its emergence as a great nation.

Now, America must stay on that course of engagement. By working with China and making our differences clear where necessary, we can advance our interests and our values and China's historic transformation into a nation whose greatness is defined as much by its future as its past.

Change may not come as quickly as we would like, but, as our interests are long-

term, so must our policies be. We have an opportunity to build a new century in which China takes its rightful place as a full and strong partner in the community of nations, working with the United States to advance peace and prosperity, freedom and security for both our people and for all the world. We have to take that chance.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:50 p.m. in the auditorium at the Voice of America. In his remarks, he referred to Nicholas Platt, president, The Asia Society; and President Jiang Zemin of China.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

The following list includes the President's public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this issue.

October 18

In the evening, the President and Hillary Clinton traveled from San Carlos de Bariloche to Buenos Aires, Argentina. Later, they returned to Washington, DC, arriving the following morning.

October 21

The President announced his intention to nominate William J. Lynn III to be Under Secretary of Defense, Comptroller.

The President announced his intention to nominate Richard M. McGahey to serve as Assistant Secretary for Policy at the Department of Labor.

The President announced his intention to nominate Cyril Kent McGuire to serve as Assistant Secretary of Educational Research and Improvement at the Department of Education.

The President announced his intention to nominate Robert McNamara, Jr., to serve as General Counsel at the Central Intelligence Agency.

The President announced his intention to nominate Daryl L. Jones to be Secretary of the Air Force.

The President announced his intention to appoint former Representative John Bryant as head of the U.S. delegation to the International Telecommunication Union's 1997 World Radiocommunications Conference in Geneva, Switzerland, with the personal rank of Ambassador.

The President announced his intention to appoint Sam W. Brown with the personal rank of Ambassador during his service as the head of the U.S. delegation to the Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe's Ministerial Preparatory Conferences in Vienna, Austria.

The President announced his intention to appoint Robert L. Baxter as a member of the Advisory Committee to the President's Commission on Critical Infrastructure Protection.

October 22

In the afternoon, the President met with Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew I in the Oval Office.

The President announced his intention to nominate John Charles Horsley as Associate Deputy Secretary and Director of Intermodalism at the Department of Transportation.

The White House announced the President's intention to appoint the following individuals as members of the Advisory Committee on Public Interest Obligations of Digital Television Broadcasters: Charles Benton, Frank Blythe, Peggy Charren, Harold C. Crump, Frank Cruz, Robert Decherd, Barry Diller, William Duhamel, Rob Glaser, Jim Goodman, Paul La Camera, Richard Masur, Newton Minow, Shelby Scott, Gigi Sohn, Karen Peltz Strauss, Cass R. Sunstein, Lois Jean White, and James Yee.

The White House announced that the President received the final report of the Presidential Commission on Critical Infrastructure Protection on October 20.

October 23

The President announced his intention to nominate Mary Beth West for the rank of Ambassador to be Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Oceans and Space.

The President announced his intention to nominate William R. Ferris to be Chair of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

The President announced the nomination of William Dale Montgomery to be Ambassador to Croatia.

The President named 60 young researchers to receive the second annual Presidential Early Career Awards for Scientists and Engineers.

The White House announced that the President invited President Ernesto Zedillo of Mexico to Washington, DC, for a working visit on November 14.

October 24

In the evening, the President and Hillary Clinton attended the taping of a National Symphony Orchestra performance at the Kennedy Center Concert Hall for later broadcast.

The President announced the nomination of Linda Key Breathitt as a member of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission.

The President announced the nomination of Curt Hebert, Jr., as a member of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission.

The President announced the nomination of Frank D. Yturria to serve as a member of the Board of Directors of the Inter-American Foundation.

Nominations Submitted to the Senate

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Submitted October 20

Kermit Lipez,
of Maine, to be U.S. Circuit Judge for the First Circuit, vice Conrad K. Cyr, retired.

A. Howard Matz,
of California, to be U.S. District Judge for the Central District of California, vice Harry L. Hupp, retired.

Submitted October 22

Daryl L. Jones,
of Florida, to be Secretary of the Air Force, vice Sheila Widnall, resigned.

Richard M. McGahey,
of New York, to be an Assistant Secretary of Labor, vice Anne H. Lewis.

William J. Lynn III,
of the District of Columbia, to be Under Secretary of Defense (Comptroller), vice John Hamre.

William Dale Montgomery,
of Pennsylvania, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Croatia.

Submitted October 23

Linda Key Breathitt,
of Kentucky, to be a member of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission for a term expiring June 30, 2002, vice Donald Farley Santa, Jr., term expired.

Curt Herbert, Jr.,
of Mississippi, to be a member of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission for the remainder of the term expiring June 30, 1999, vice Elizabeth Anne Moler.

Frank D. Yturria,
of Texas, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Inter-American Foundation for a term expiring June 26, 2002 (reappointment).

Paul J. Hoeper,
of California, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Army, vice Gilbert F. Decker, resigned.

Submitted October 24

William R. Ferris,
of Mississippi, to be Chairperson of the National Endowment for the Humanities for a term of 4 years, vice Sheldon Hackney, resigned.

Curt Hebert, Jr.,
of Mississippi, to be a member of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission for the re-

mainder of the term expiring June 30, 1999, vice Elizabeth Anne Moler.

L. Paige Marvel,
of Maryland, to be a Judge of the U.S. Tax Court for a term of 15 years after she takes office, vice Lawrence A. Wright, retired.

Withdrawn October 24

Curt Herbert, Jr.,
of Mississippi, to be a member of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission for the remainder of the term expiring June 30, 1999, vice Elizabeth Anne Moler, which was sent to the Senate on October 23, 1997.

Checklist of White House Press Releases

The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary that are neither printed as items nor covered by entries in the Digest of Other White House Announcements.

Released October 17¹

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry and National Security Adviser Samuel Berger on the President's visit to Latin America

Released October 18

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry and Deputy National Security Adviser Jim Steinberg on the President's visit to Argentina

Released October 20

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

Transcript of a press briefing by Education Secretary Richard Riley

¹ This release was not received in time for inclusion in the appropriate issue.

Released October 21

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

Announcement of nominations for the U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit and U.S. District Judge for the Central District of California

Released October 22

Transcript of a press briefing by Harry Harding and Kenneth Lieberthal on the upcoming visit of President Jiang Zemin of China

Transcript of a press briefing by National Economic Council Chair Gene Sperling, Assistant to the President for International Economic Policy Daniel Tarullo, Deputy National Security Adviser Jim Steinberg, Staff Secretary Todd Stern, Council on Environmental Quality Chair Kathleen McGinty, and Deputy Treasury Secretary Larry Summers on climate change

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry: Presidential Commission on Critical Infrastructure Protection

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry: Presidential Meeting with Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew

Released October 23

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

Transcript of a press briefing by Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy Planning Bruce Reed and Special Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy Jennifer Klein on the President's child care initiative

Transcript of a press briefing by National Security Adviser Samuel Berger on the upcoming visit of President Jiang Zemin of China

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry: Official Working Visit by President Zedillo of Mexico

Released October 24

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

1656

Administration of William J. Clinton, 1997

**Acts Approved
by the President**

as the “Robert J. Dole United States Court-
house”

Approved October 22

S. 1000 / Public Law 105–63
To designate the United States courthouse
at 500 State Avenue in Kansas City, Kansas,

Approved October 23

H.J. Res. 97 / Public Law 105–64
Making further continuing appropriations for
the fiscal year 1998, and for other purposes

**United States
Government
Printing Office**

SUPERINTENDENT
OF DOCUMENTS
Washington, D.C. 20402

OFFICIAL BUSINESS
Penalty for private use, \$300

BULK RATE
Postage and Fees Paid
U.S. Government Printing Office
PERMIT G-26